

245079

JPRS 81120

24 JUNE 1982

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2646

19980918 070

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE



8
191
A09

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

24 June 1982

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

No. 2646

CONTENTS

ANGOLA

- Housing Priorities Listed, Crime Rise Noted in Huambo
(JORNAL DE ANGOLA, 14 May 82)..... 1
- GDR Industrial Fair Opens in Luanda
(Americo G.; JORNAL DE ANGOLA, 14 May 82)..... 3

CAMEROON

- Railroad System Described
(EUROPE OUTREMER, Dec 81)..... 5

GHANA

- Military Rule, Suppression of Dissent Criticized
(Elizabeth Ohene; WEST AFRICA, 31 May 82)..... 9
- PNDC Questions Expatriates' Use in Irrigation Project
(WEST AFRICA, 31 May 82)..... 13

GUINEA-BISSAU

- Price Rise Noted, Responsibilities Questioned
(Baba Sanfa; NO PINTCHA, 12 May 82)..... 14
- Briefs
- Swedish Rural Financing 16
 - GDR Media Training 16
 - Delegation to Komsomol Congress 17
 - Agricultural Delegation to Cuba 17

KENYA

- Muslims of Ruiru Warned To Follow the Nyayo of Moi
(Kiambu; TAIFA LEO, 23 Apr 82)..... 18

Reader Talks About Difficulty in Finding Work (David A. Luvusi; TAIFA LEO, 24 Apr 82).....	19
Test Farm Project To Get Oil From Plants (Patrick Mungai; TAIFA LEO, 24 Apr 82).....	20
MAURITIUS	
What MMM/PSM Will Do if Victorious Explained (Aneerood Jugnauth, et al. Interview; L'EXPRESS, 27 Apr 82).....	23
Mauritian Social Democratic Party Issues Manifesto (LE MAURICIEN, 17 May 82).....	30
MMM/PSM Antiviolence Rally Reported (LE MAURICIEN, 17 May 82).....	33
Contents of Labor Party Manifesto Reported (LE MAURICIEN, 19 May 82).....	37
MSPA Foresees 200 Million Rupee Deficit (L'EXPRESS, 17 Apr 82).....	40
Little Gain From Seychelles Tourist Price Surge Seen (L'EXPRESS, 20 Apr 82).....	42
'Excellent' Maize Crop Foreseen for Rodrigues (L'EXPRESS, 20 Apr 82).....	43
MOZAMBIQUE	
Briefs Fumo Death Pamphlets	45
NAMIBIA	
South-West Africa Establishes Diplomatic Ties With Taiwan (REPUBLIQUEIN, 26, 27 Apr 82).....	46
Officials' Visit to Taiwan A Proud Accomplishment, Editorial	
Justification for Kalangula's Actions Provided (A.D.K. 'INFORMATIONS', Apr 82).....	49
Riruako Reproaches Churches as SWAPO Abettors (THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER, 4 Jun 82).....	53
Three SWAPO Members Jailed for 29 Years (THE CITIZEN, 3 Jun 82).....	54

Kaura Vents Spleen Against Western 'Five'	
(THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER, 2 Jun 82).....	55
Ben Africa Claims UN Scheme Is Bankrupt	
(THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER, 4 Jun 82).....	56
NIGER	
Economic, Political Problems Facing Regime Noted	
(Philippe Decraene; LE MONDE, 18-19 May 82).....	57
NIGERIA	
Israel's Relations With Various African Countries Discussed	
(Editorial; NEW NIGERIAN, 21 May 82).....	64
Briefs	
Background on Israeli Relations	65
SENEGAL	
AJ/MRDN Will Not Take Part in Presidential Elections	
(Momar Seyni Ndiaye; LE SOLEIL, 18 May 82).....	66
SEYCHELLES	
Indian Offer of Educational Assistance Reported	
(NATION, 19 May 82).....	68
Tourism Plan Aims at Salvaging Depressed Industry	
(NATION, 20 May 82).....	70
Briefs	
SPPR-French Ties	74
SOUTH AFRICA	
Passage of Presidential Council's Proposals Will be	
Difficult	
(Dawie; DIE BURGER, 12 May 82).....	75
Eventual Establishment of Black Government Predicted	
(THE CITIZEN, 5 Jun 82).....	78
Way Opened for Black 'Equal Status'	
(Jaap Theron; THE CITIZEN, 7 Jun 82).....	79
Cabinet's Interpretation of PC's Recommendations Adopted	
(Jaap Theron; THE CITIZEN, 7 Jun 82).....	80

Struggler for Coloured Franchise Interviewed (Louis Kane-Berman Interview; FRONTLINE, Jun 82).....	82
Inkatha Strategy Official Analyzes West's Support of Exiles (Gibson Thula; FRONTLINE, Jun 82).....	85
Commission Representative Defends Buthelezi Report (Bobby Godsell; FRONTLINE, Jun 82).....	87
Problems of White, Colored Migration, Black Urbanization (BEELD, 6 May 82).....	90
The Trek Northwards, Editorial The Error Committed by Verwoerd, by Piet Muller	
Columnist Discusses Afrikaners Guilts of Negligence (Willem de Klerk; RAPPORT, 2 May 82).....	93
Commentary on New NIS Low Profile, Encounter With the KGB (DIE BURGER, 18 May 82).....	96
More Details, Comments on Government Reform Provided (DIE BURGER, 18 May 82).....	99
A Glimpse of the Future Government Hopes Stimulated; Vocabulary Strange, by Jacques van Wyk Blacks Not Left Out Opponents Warned of Dictatorship Four Objections to the Plan Comparison With the 1977 Proposals	
Constitution-Backstabbing of Blacks Untrue, Say Coloreds (Gus Adams; RAPPORT, 2 May 82).....	107
Press, Police Differ Over Secret Trials (DIE BURGER, 12 May 82).....	109
Police Official 'Misquoted' No Secret Trials	
Police Investigate Reports of Intelligence Agents Activities (DIE VADERLAND, 8 May 82).....	111
Dangers of Communist Deceit, Propaganda Underscored (THE CITIZEN, 5 Jun 82).....	113
Soldiers To Be Charged for Atrocities (THE CITIZEN, 5 Jun 82).....	114

Aviation Recruiting Letter 'Frame-Up' Claimed (THE CITIZEN, 7 Jun 82).....	116
Jaap Marais Upset by CP Coldshoulder (Dan Marais; THE CITIZEN, 7 Jun 82).....	117
Blast in Cape Town: Security Was 'Terrible' (THE CITIZEN, 7 Jun 82).....	118
Incorporation of Kangwane Seen Creating Problems (Chris Marais; RAND DAILY MAIL, 21 May 82).....	120
Black Trade Unions Set Pace in Anti-Apartheid Struggle (R. E. Matajo; THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, 2nd Quarter 1982).....	122
Strategy of Arming Masses Discussed (Khumalo Migwe; THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, 2nd Quarter 1982).....	130
Various Regulations for Interracial School Sport Planned (DIE BURGER, 18 May 82).....	139
SAFA Accuses Sacos of Obstructing Colored Soccer (Billy Cooper; THE CITIZEN, 7 Jun 82).....	141
Briefs	
New Logistics Command	142
New National Monuments	142
Grain Elevator Blast	142
Plea for Fingo Group	143
Mail to Troops	143
Blacks To Be Mayors	143
Pig Iron Output	143
New College Planned	144
Petroleum Export Violation	144
UPPER VOLTA	
List of Muslim Community Bureau Officials Published (L'OBSERVATEUR, 27 Apr 82).....	145
ZAMBIA	
Kaunda Visits Office of NCDP for First Time (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 29 May 82).....	149
Kaunda's, Chidumayo's Statements, Sianga's Poem Nation Expects Results From NCDP, Editorial	

Mulemba Says Failure To Implement Decisions Major UNIP Weakness (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 29 May 82).....	152
Minister Says UNZA Must Increase Output of Medical Graduates (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 31 May 82).....	153
Minister: Foreigners With Resident Status Impede Zambianization (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 2 Jun 82).....	154
BADEA To Continue 'Propping Up Investments' in DBZ (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 3 Jun 82).....	155
SIDA Director Raps Delay in Government's Sending of Funds to Projects (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 1, 2 Jun 82).....	156
Director's Interview NCDP Mismanaging International Loans, Grants, Editorial	
Performance of Economy During Third Quarter 'Sluggish' (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 1 Jun 82).....	158
Sacika Says Existing Pricing Policies Ought To Be Reviewed (SUNDAY TIMES, 30 May 82, TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 31 May 82)...	159
Sacika's Speech Productivity, Prices, Income 'Vicious Circle', Editorial	
MUZ Chairman Warns ZCCM Not To Misinterpret Cost Saving Measures (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 29 May 82).....	161
'Serious Shortage of Food' Looming in Magumwi Ward, Sesheke District (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 29 May 82).....	162
Investment in Agriculture 'Needed' To Improve Economy' (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 31 May 82).....	163
Zambia Railways To Start Manufacturing Own Wagons Soon (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 3 Jun 82).....	164
Institute Concerned About 'Chronic' Shortage of Bricks (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 28 May 82).....	165
Some Parastatal Companies Fail To Submit Corporate Plans to Zimco (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 2 Jun 82).....	166

Managing Director Says Zamox Made Profit This Year (TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 28 May 82).....	167
ZIMBABWE	
'No Dual Citizens by 1983'--Says Zvobgo (THE HERALD, 25, 24 May 82).....	168
Bill Expected To Pass End Split Loyalties, Editorial	
Dropping of Lobola Requirement Causes Controversy (THE HERALD, various dates).....	170
Zvobgo Pronouncement Hornets' Nest Stirred, Editorial Further Details	
Effects of New Price Control Regulations Feared by Business (THE HERALD, 24 May 82).....	175
Stop Moaning About Code, Investors Told (Tim Chigodo; THE HERALD, 27 May 82).....	176
Stock Exchange Seeks To Broaden Base (THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE, 21 May 82).....	177
Beira Pipeline Unlikely To Open This Year (THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE, 21 May 82).....	178
Declining Profits Endanger Mining Industry (THE HERALD, 22 May 82).....	179
Briefs	
Repatriated Miners	180
State Mineral Sales	180
ZRP Switch to Datsuns	180
Merger of Railway Unions	181

HOUSING PRIORITIES LISTED, CRIME RISE NOTED IN HUAMBO

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 May 82 p 4

[Text] Huambo--The People's Provincial Assembly of Huambo recently passed important resolutions aimed at improving the supply of petroleum and construction materials for the rural areas and to give priority to the allocation of housing facilities.

These resolutions were released through a communique distributed to the information media in the province of Huambo; they recommend that, looking at the petroleum sector, SONANGOL [National Fuels Company] should make every effort to normalize the distribution of this product; in this effort it will have the support of the party. The highest people's government body, in the resolution passed for the construction sector, notes that construction materials produced in the province of Huambo must be sold directly to the consumer whereas those coming from other provinces must be sold through Domestic Trade [Ministry] and specialized private enterprises.

The announcement also emphasizes that the provincial housing agencies, when it comes to allocating housing units, must give priority to international cooperation, to party and government personnel, mass and social organizations, students coming from other provinces, army officers, and supervisory personnel trained abroad.

Indoctrination Meeting in Community of Dondero

An indoctrination meeting was held in the community of Dondero in whose course the new community commissioner for that area was introduced.

The coordinator of the municipal DORGAN [Provincial Department of Party Organization] for Ecunha, who presided over the introduction ceremony, during his remarks urged the local population to get down to work on the tasks of defense and production.

Defense, Security, and Justice Agencies Hold Seminar

The first professional advancement seminar of the defense, security, and justice organizations has been underway since Wednesday in the city of Huambo under the chairmanship of the region's military and civilian attorney general.

This seminar, whose closing session is scheduled for today, studied methods which would simplify the details and delays now encountered in the handling of trials due to the low professional skills of the security, defense, and justice personnel.

During the opening session, Marcolino Moco, deputy coordinator of the Provincial Party Committee, emphasized the important role to be played by the security cadres in fighting crime which is on the rise in the province.

5058

CSO: 4742/318

GDR INDUSTRIAL FAIR OPENS IN LUANDA

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 May 82 p 5

[Article by Americo G.: "First GDR Export Exposition Opened--Leipzig Gold Medal for Lopo do Nascimento"]

[Text] "The gold medal awarded to me was given for the effort made by all workers in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the enterprises under it," said RPA [People's Republic of Angola] Planning and Foreign Trade Minister Lopo do Nascimento in substance at the moment he officially opened the first exposition of GDR export products in the RPA.

The exhibit opened today by Lopo do Nascimento was attended by GDR Vice Minister of Electrotechnology and Electronics Manfred Titze and by the GDR ambassador in Angola, the minister of health, and the RPA vice minister of domestic trade as well as other officials from the Ministry of Foreign Trade; it constitutes an important milestone in trade relations between the RPA and GDR.

Trade between the RPA and the GDR marks the implementation of one of the main guidelines of the party which involves the privilege of commercial relations and exchange with the socialist countries, our unconditional allies.

In this context and as was pointed out yesterday, Angola is the GDR's first partner in the area south of Sahara and the GDR is one of the first trade partners of Angola in the socialist camp and these relations are considered to be exemplary.

Lopo do Nascimento, who is a member of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party, was on that occasion given one of the highest awards of the GDR, that is, the Leipzig Fair Gold Medal of Honor; it is traditionally awarded to the man who is most outstanding in the maintenance of friendly relations with the GDR. The medal was presented to Lopo do Nascimento by the East German ambassador accredited in Angola.

In the meantime, the vice minister of electrotechnology and electronics emphasized the importance of the visit by Oscar Fischer to the RPA because of the way this served to step up relations between the two countries, fitting in perfectly with the friendly relations between the MPLA-Labor Party and the SED [Socialist Unity Party] under the provisions of the

cooperation agreement signed between Agostinho Neto and Erich Honecker; the implementation of this agreement includes the agreements signed by Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos during his visit to the GDR in October 1981.

This exhibit displays some products and equipment items already known to the Angolan people, such as the IFA [Industrial Association for Motor Vehicle Construction] W-50, the ADK mobile revolving crane, the model 512 harvester combine, plus other known products and several unknown products, such as the Multicar, a utility cargo vehicle which consumes little gasoline and is widely used in urban transportation; it has emerged as a real alternative and variant for small freight transportation used in urban environments in the RPA.

The exhibit also includes miscellaneous projects and studies developed by GDR specialists which could at the right time be turned over to Angolan officials in charge of foreign trade.

It is noted that the GDR already maintains broad cooperation with Angola in sectors such as education and health, among others.

5058

CSO: 4742/318

CAMEROON

RAILROAD SYSTEM DESCRIBED

Paris EUROPE OUTREMER in French No 623, Dec 81 pp 30-31

[Article: "Realigning the Douala-Yaounde Railroad Track"]

[Text] Managed and operated by REGIFERCAM (the Cameroonian Railway Administration), a public industrial and commercial enterprise, the Cameroonian railroad system includes a total of about 1,173 km of lines distributed as follows:

- the Transcameroon central line, Douala-Yaounde-Ngaoundere (935 km),
- the western line, Douala-Nkongsamba (172 km),
- the Ngoumou-Mbalmayo line, branching off the Transcameroon line (37 km),
- the Mbanga-Kumba line (29 km), branching off the western line.

To these should be added 250 km of service and junction tracks, 74 stations and depots, including some 50 on the Douala-Ngaoundere line, central vehicle maintenance and repair shops at Douala-Bassa, and various maintenance and reserve depots.

Rolling Stock Increase

On 30 June 1979, REGIFERCAM employed close to 6,000 people, including 86 Cameroonian higher cadres and 39 expatriates delegated under a technical assistance program. At the same date, it had at its disposal 93 motor vehicles, including 53 locomotives, 8 railcars, 30 light rail motor tractors and 2 gang-cars, as well as 91 passenger cars, 15 luggage vans, 1556 commercial cars, 157 passenger and service cars, 197 service cars. Orders were placed in 1978 and 1979 to increase the rolling equipment: with Canadian financing, twenty 2000-HP locomotives, 500 40-ton load cars, including 240 covered cars, 60 high-sided open cars, 200 lumber cars, amounting to a total of 6824 million CFA francs. With French financing, 31 passenger cars and 5 luggage cars equipped with electric generators (2,430 million CFA francs), plus 10 switching locomotives and car carriers.

At the end of 1981, REGIFERCAM also received a new 35 million French franc loan for the acquisition of railroad equipment, including ten 950-HP electric

Diesel locomotives. These purchases are part of an equipment program, the cost of which totals 2.5 billion CFA francs.

Apart from the realigning of the Douala-Yaounde track (see below), some of the main investments include the expansion of the Douala and Yaounde shops. The cost of this program is estimated at 3,800 million [CFA francs]; it is financed 80 percent by the World Bank and 20 percent by REGIFERCAM. The first stage is in progress. The new Douala goods station, scheduled to be completed this year, will cost 7.5 billion CFA francs (World Bank financing). The future Douala passenger station is expected to cost 4,300 million CFA francs. The search for financial backers has started.

A Spectacular Recovery

REGIFERCAM is now facing financial difficulties because of the debts it has incurred in connection with its investment program. Thus, at the end of 1981, the Cameroon Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines indicated that "from 1978 to 1981, expenditures have increased at an average annual rate of 45 percent, whereas sales progressed by only 20 percent. Despite this, a remarkable effort to recover has been made. The operating deficit decreased from 730 million in May 1979 to 290.7 million CFA franc in May 1980." Recovery is continuing, as is shown by the statements and balance sheet for the fiscal year 1980-1981 which are marked by an improvement in managing conditions, and by good results in passenger and freight traffic which are clearly exceeding budget forecasts and last year's results.

These results are due to new modern equipment being placed in service, and were obtained in spite of the decline in traffic connected with lumber exportations. Thus, for the fiscal year, freight traffic amounted to 668.7 million tons/km (i.e. a 15.9 percent increase). In 1979-1980, passenger and freight traffic amounted to 244.3 million passenger-km (against 239.8 million in 1978-1979), and 578.06 million ton-km (against 500 million the previous year). The freight transported amounted to 1,417,000 tons (against 1,350,000 tons in 1978-1979), but could have reached 1.5 million tons had it not been for the crisis in Chad, the natural market for the Transcameroon railroad. The main goods transported were, in that order: lumber with 40,022 tons and 177,399,315 ton-km; oil products (176,407 tons and 73,950,225 ton-km); ALUCAM [Cameroon Aluminum] materials (112,754 tons); building materials (99,154 tons and 34,007,343 ton-km); North Cameroon materials (70,669,339 ton-km).

We should also mention bananas and pineapples (73,383 tons), cotton (54,575 tons), and cocoa (44,410 tons).

Realigning the Douala-Yaounde Railroad Track

A true bottleneck, because of its age and the intricacies of its layout, the Douala-Yaounde track has been repaired and replanned for seven years. The objective of the project, known under the code name TRANSCAM III, is to bring the track length to slightly over 264 km, down from the 308 km of the old track. Between Douala and Eseka, this railroad track was built by the German from 1909 to 1914 and, between Eseka and Yaounde, by the French from 1916 to 1926. Because of the inadequacy of the earth-moving equipment of the time,

the builders had to follow the relief, hugging the contour lines as much as they could since there was no gorge or penetration valley in the relief, which is chaotic in places. This line required considerable maintenance expenditures, not only for the track itself but also for the rolling stock; derailments were very frequent and accidents, often very serious, occurred. For all these reasons, the modernization of this track, which is the natural continuation of the Transcameroon railroad was given top priority.

Studies started late in 1969 and were entrusted to the Transcameroon Railroad Office (OCFT). On-site work started on 1 November 1975.

The first section, Yaounde-Maloume (83.5 km down from 102 km) was completed in February 1978 and placed in service on 26 April of the same year, after 30 months of work. The cost of the work amounted to 14,526 billion CFA francs and was financed by Cameroon (2,585 million CFA francs), the FRG (7,221 million), France (3 billion) and Canada (1,720 million).

After this section was placed in service, overhaul of the Douala-Edea section was due to begin; this section is the most heavily used, mainly because of the transport of aluminum uphill to Edea, and the shipment of ALUCAM production (aluminum ingots, sheets, corrugated plates) to Douala.

At the same time, REGIFERCAM wished to divide the very long Makondo-So-Dibanga block by a station equipped with safety facilities. Therefore, it was decided to add the Mandjab station section to the Douala-Edea section. Work on this second TRANSCAM III section--long of 80.45 km, down from 94.63 km--started in December 1978 and was completed on 21 June 1981. The cost of this second section was 16,233 million CFA francs; it was financed by Cameroon (2,850 million CFA francs), the FRG (6,843 million), the EEC (2,775 million), the United States (1,565 million), Canada (1.2 billion) and France (1 billion).

Work is now in progress on the third section, Edea-Eseka (more precisely Mbengue-Eseka). This section, long of 72.4 km (down from 79.7 km), could be placed in service during 1982. The cost of the work amounted to 14,966 million CFA franc; it was financed by Cameroon (3,552 Million CFA francs), France (4,994 million), the FRG (3,480 million) and the European Investment Bank (2,940 million). It should be noted that the old Eseka station built by the German will be renovated but, at the request of the local authorities, the present building will be preserved.

Realigning Completed by 1986

The fourth, 28-km long section, Eseka-Ngwate, is still under study. Because of the relief and geological peculiarities, the project developed by OCFT provides for the construction of three large viaducts to straddle valleys and one 400-m long tunnel.

Another layout also under study provides for a 1,670 km-long tunnel, more accented curves and more earthworks. Work will last three to four years and could start in July 1982. The cost of this section is estimated at 30 billion CFA francs. Financing is expected to be obtained from the organizations which,

in the past, have contributed to this realization. This section is scheduled to be placed in service in 1986. The realigning of the Douala-Yaounde track will then be completed. According to the most recent estimates, its total cost will have amounted to some 76 billion CFA francs provided by Cameroon and several financial backers.

Let us recall that TRANSCAM I (Yaounde-Belado, 1969) and TRANSCAM II (Belabo-Ngaoundere, 1974) represented a total cost of 26,227 million CFA francs of the time, provided by Cameroon (3,692 million CFA francs), the EEC (12,238 million), the United States (5,169 million), France (4,039 million), and the FRG (1,089 million).

Thus, the Douala-Yaounde track, the most heavily travelled in the railroad system, with its curves of over 500 m radius (the number of which was reduced from 750 to 196!), with its maximum gradients of 16 mm/m, with its some 30 crossing stations spaced at regular intervals (about 10 km), will be able to receive long trains, and the maximum speed of passenger trains will increase from 60 to 90 km/h. When work is completed, the trip will take only 4 hours and 30 minutes instead of some 10 hours at present. Early in 1982, travelers leaving Douala at 20:00 hours used to arrive in Yaounde around 5:30 hours. The capacity of the line will be multiplied by five as far as freight trains are concerned.

This realigning will obviously result in a decreased number of derailments and accidents which, at present, are due to the age of the track; and, finally, the trains could be on time more often.

9294
CSO:4719/1030

MILITARY RULE, SUPPRESSION OF DISSENT CRITICIZED

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3382, 31 May 82 pp 1451-1454

[Article by Elizabeth Ohene]

[Excerpts] "TRYING to judge the 31 December revolution in Ghana from press reports, and comments internationally, has been almost impossible." Articles in favour of the coup have been written: heavyweight commentators have expressed personal opinions (and supposedly factual ones) which, by chance, accord with the views and attitudes of their home governments.

I offer no apologies for plagiarizing the first paragraph of Stuart Sutton-Jones' article in *West Africa*. It just goes to prove the point that the bottle is half-full and the bottle is half-empty both mean the same thing, depending on which point of view you are trying to push. A "World Today" BBC World Service programme on Ghana which featured a lot of heavyweight commentators, ended with "... if there is anybody in Ghana today that can turn that country around, it is young Jerry Rawlings." Admittedly, the BBC's early hysteria has calmed down somewhat now, but there can be no denying that the general credo of the BBC is that young Jerry Rawlings is indeed the "Junior Jesus" come to save Ghana.

A recent publication in *The Guardian*, based on an interview with Captain Kodjo Tsikata the Special Advisor to the ruling PNDC, also left no doubts that the answers to Ghana's problems are finally being found, with the compliments of the new regime.

The point being laboured here is that much of the international press has simply treated the Ghana story very much according to whether they see in the situation

anything that reinforces its own beliefs: *Jeune Afrique*, for example, was enthusiastic about the events of 31 December because, according to the paper, the black bourgeoisie had been given a rude shock.

There have been no dearth of articles in

Why should it be made out that Ghana is such a peculiar country that what is generally understood to mean parliamentary democracy in other parts of the world cannot work in our country. Civilians and elections cannot equal democracy anywhere, neither in France nor in Rumania, nor indeed in Ghana; the formula can only work if it is supported by institutions that work and a determination on the part of the people.

There is a lot of talk these days in Ghana about "real democracy" and the restructuring of Ghanaian Society. Libya has been held out as one of the places where "real democracy" exists and works and all the people are involved in the decision making process. I am suggesting that this is an insult to the Ghanaian people and a sad misunderstanding of our society, for we have, even in our traditional set up, the institutions that can stand any democratic test and which might be worth studying by a comparatively backward and unquestioning society like Libya.

Transplanting Alien Concepts

In this desperate attempt to transplant alien concepts to Ghanaian society, our traditional values and institutions are likely to be destroyed in the process leaving us the poorer. The lowly clerk in an office in Accra, the mechanic on the factory floor in

Tema might very well be "odikros" or sub-chiefs in their towns or villages and after 5 pm he immediately becomes the chief or elder that he is and the man who is his Managing Director between 8 am to 5 pm would have to (as we say in Ghana) lower his cloth before speaking to his clerk or mechanic and on occasion might have to remove his sandals before approaching this mechanic at a dawn gathering and be giving orders to him a few hours later. This is just to illustrate that words like the "working classes, peasants", as understood in other societies might have difficulties being transplanted wholesale into Ghana.

I am suggesting that the forming of new institutions to replace old ones because

they have not worked is a defeatist and cowardly attitude. If the courts in Ghana, for example have been found wanting, the answer is not to establish new courts — People's Courts. This is not to suggest that the courts have discharged their duties to everybody's satisfaction. My own personal experience with the courts in 1980 and 1981 left me with the decided impression that some judges would much rather not irritate the Executive. But then Ghana history is full of judges who have been firm and true to their oaths inspite of tremendous pressure from the Executive

In much the same way, the Armed Forces of Ghana have produced some of the finest soldiers of which the country can be justly proud. But it is the Armed Forces that have wreaked the most havoc on the country and we know in Ghana, more than

any other people, that uniforms and guns are no guarantee for honesty or even hard work.

The point is that if the civilian population had it in its power to administer this theory of "if thine right hand troubles thee, cut it off" that the PNDC is applying to time honoured institutions, the Armed Forces, maintained at over 2 million cedis a week by public funds, would have been disbanded long ago.

"Campaign for Democracy"

I did not have the misfortune to attending that most "spurious and chaotic" press conference at which the "Campaign for Democracy in Ghana" was launched, I also have no knowledge of who the motley collection of unlikely bedfellows are that are fronted by Mr. Addae-Amoako and

Justice Hayfron-Benjamin, but one must take exception to the patronising attitude again; why should Justice Hayfron-Benjamin be a naive and unwitting front for whoever the former politicians are? Is the suggestion that his is too simple a mind to grasp the realities and machinations that the commentators know? I am not in a position to challenge what Mr. Ayeh-Kumi might have said or planned but it sounds to me that unless the suggestion is that Mr. Ayeh-Kumi, the master manipulator, and this group of Old Guards had the courts also in their pockets, they took an awfully risky chance channelling their grab for power through the courts. If the three PNP officials who were the targets of the Adae-Amoako case were indeed guilty of the charges laid against them and were removed by a court order, I think it is something to be happy about for it showed that three very powerful "President's Men" could be removed from office for corruption and that can't be wrong. I have heard of cynical manipulation of power in the western democracies.

But then such a marvellous way of explaining away such a phenomenon in Ghanaian politics as the Adae-Amoako case sounds very much like an attempt to reinforce the view that Ghana's social reality means that corrupt officials can never be exposed unless through equally corrupt manipulation of power.

It is rather late in the day though to expose facts which show that the Adae-Amoako case was not aimed at ensuring probity in government: these facts published in November last year could at least have helped in diluting the public support that the move enjoyed. And yet in spite of the evidence adduced, one still wonders how Dr. Ayeh Kumi could have pulled off his coup, seeing that he was disqualified by law from holding public office and could not have become Chairman of the PNP no matter how many houses he sold in Holland or Paraguay to finance the party.

This elaborate attempt to discredit that case sounds to me suspiciously like an attempt to justify the main reason that Stuart extends as the justification for the coup, i.e. there was no possibility of change in the Limann regime. I am suggesting that since the court case was never given a chance to work and demonstrate for once in Ghana's political history, that

powerful men can be removed for corruption without the power of the gun, the benefit of the doubt has to be given to Adu-Amoako. And if he is willing to front a "Campaign for Democracy", I would say more grease to his elbows, the gentleman strikes me as one of the few non-progressive Ghanaians willing to do something about what they believe in.

I never imagined that I would live to see the day when Dr. Limann would become something of an enigma. My own impressions were that he was quite lost and overwhelmed by the task that faced him and I would agree with Stuart that in spite of his protestations, Dr. Limann did not wield half the powers that were his on paper and this impression I formed even without the "behind the scenes" knowledge of Stuart and without the advantage of having interviewed Dr. Limann in custody. So what is one supposed to make out of the reports in the Ghana press that quote many of Limann's cabinet and top party officials as describing Limann as a dictator? The former Interior Minister, the former Foreign Minister, Nana Okutwer Bekoe are all supposed to have described Dr. Limann as a Dictator who wanted only his wishes to be carried out — even the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Finance whom many considered an intelligent and strong member of the PNP is supposed to have told the National Investigation Committee that Dr. Limann was a dictator and always wanted the Executive to override Parliament and Mr. Hyde, this apparently strong character, according to his own words, always acquiesced and turned Parliament into a rubber stamp of Limann's wishes.

Losing the Truth

It must be obvious that somewhere in all this, the truth is lost. The argument has been made to me that the December 31 coup is somewhat different in reality from what it seems. It is being suggested that in 1979, the people who consider themselves "progressives" saw in the June 4 Revolution, an opportunity to grab power and restructure the Ghanaian Society according to the theories they have been propounding. They tried to convince Flt-Lt. Rawlings not to hand over power to an elected civilian regime but at that time, he was still 'naive' and refused to listen, but

they bided their time, planned carefully, adopted the Flight-Lieutenant, goaded the Security Services into harassing him to make the government lose credibility with the people and when the time was ripe, moved to take over the country. In other words, the aim was the left-wing (progressive) take over of the country, the coup was the method and Flt-Lieutenant Rawlings was the tool! After all, the Flight-Lieutenant can publicly claim considerable track record as a defender of principle and probity. Was it not he who, in 1979, demonstrated quite indelibly that a day of reckoning will come for all the rulers, no matter how powerful or corrupt? And has he not since then become the idol of the people?

The recent *Guardian* article already referred to about Kodjo Tsikata said a lot of enlightening things. In 1979 Flt-Lt Rawlings was urged not to hand over power: the only political party to be allowed in Ghana, the United Front, will be formed soon and membership will be limited only to the progressives — organisations like the June 4 Movement etc., and there will be no room for liberals and reactionaries.

Unacceptable People?

Is it being suggested that the restructured Ghana being planned will have room only for progressives whose credentials apparently rest with the Special Advisor, and what will happen to unrepentant and unabashed liberals, reactionaries, anarchists, weirdos and dreamers . . . should they disappear from Ghana?

The suggestion then is further made that the Limann administration did not have a ghost of a chance right from the word go and the fact that they themselves were so incompetent and corrupt only hastened an inevitable end, which the "progressives" were bent upon anyway.

Why should every criticism of the PNDC be labelled as coming from people with axes to grind, or people who are blindly ignorant or who are naive and unwitting? Need it be only the PNDC, and the progressives that love Ghana. I have always been suspicious of people who have all the answers and do not want any dissenting voices and nothing has happened to dissuade me from this conviction.

Those who call themselves progressives in Ghana are fond of quoting Chairman

Mao's tired dictum "a revolution is not a tea party" and that is supposed to excuse the abuse of civilians that accompany and has been going on in this coup also. A member of the PNDC is even reported to have said (one hopes as a macabre joke) that there are 14 million Ghanaians, and even if we should lose 4 million in the process of making the revolution work, it is a worthwhile price! The PNDC itself has dismissed as ridiculous the claims of the fugitive former Ambassador to Nigeria that over 2,000 people have been killed, at the same time all dispassionate observers also dismiss the PNDC figure of about 30. The real figure might never be known and I am suggesting that whatever the figure it is a criminal waste of innocent blood.

When all is said and done, one should not worry about what is said in the international press whether for or against the coup. What about the Ghana Press? What they say must be important, and they seem to say all is well, and they said so at the height of Acheampong's infamous rule.

CSO: 4700/1365

PNDC QUESTIONS EXPATRIATES' USE IN IRRIGATION PROJECT

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3382, 31 May 82 p 1482

[Text]

The Provisional National Defence Council will not renew the agreement between the Ghana Government and Tate and Lyle Technical Services, a British firm, for the management of the multi-million cedi Tono and Veia irrigation projects in the Upper Region.

In place of the expatriates, qualified Ghanaians within the Irrigation Development authority and other Ghanaian experts will be made to manage the two projects, PNDC member Sergeant Alolga Akata-Pore said. Addressing border guards, custom and immigration officials at the Ghana-Upper Volta border post at Paga, he said like all other agreements signed in the past "the agreement was inimical, an insult, a complete sell-out and a big drain on the scarce foreign exchange resources of the country."

He questioned why one expatriate officer alone, apart from being paid his monthly allowances in cedis, which ran into thousands, should again earn a colossal amount of £1,900 a month for only performing supervisory work which, he said, was not above the capabilities of most Ghanaians.

The PNDC member said since Tate and Lyle was only operating under a "Letter of Intent" whose duration of one year had expired, the PNDC would not renew such an inimical agreement, let alone sign the agreement. He blamed the PNP administration for leading the country into such an agreement and said if the PNP was committed to improving the lot of Ghanaians, it would not have signed such an agreement with Tate and Lyle. Sgt. Alolga Akata-Pore added that a team of auditors would arrive at the Upper Region at the end of May to audit the accounts of Tate and Lyle which was operating under the name Irrigation Company, Upper Region (ICOUR).

The PNDC member has ordered officials of the Paga border and all entry points from neighbouring countries to the region not to allow any officials of Tate and Lyle to bring in goods under the duty-free system they enjoyed under the agreement. Recently, the PDC of ICOUR locked out their five expatriate management personnel, seized their fleet of 504 caravan and Range Rover cars, and called on the PNDC to abrogate the Ghana government-Tate and Lyle agreement which the Limann administration signed last year.

CSO: 4700/1365

PRICE RISE NOTED, RESPONSIBILITIES QUESTIONED

Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 12 May 82 p 2

[Article by Baba Sanfa: "Who Controls Prices?"]

[Text] I am addressing this letter to your newspaper and ask that it be published in the letters to the editor because I want to take up an issue which I consider pertinent. It involves price controls which have been a frequent topic in articles published in NO PINTCHA although no steps have been taken to put an end to this unrestrained speculation.

I am saying this because, from the women who run their stands at the markets to the merchants, via the government hotels, the disparity or, better yet, the arbitrary nature of the price fixing process has become ever more widespread and has assumed frightening proportions. Let us now take a look at the facts. For example, how can one justify the fact that just one little chicken costs 250 and even 300 pesos whereas the price on the price list it seems is only 50 pesos per kilogram? It is true that it would not be fair to force a poultry farmer to sell a chicken of that size for 75 or 100 pesos because we know that our chickens are poorly fed and therefore do not weigh much; at least they get the price at the farm which is 110 pesos per kilogram.

So much for chickens, not to mention the old issue of meat prices which still cause clashes between the butchers and the city authorities who have not yet arrived at an agreement while meat prices continue to rise. Another case for example involves coal. Since the last cooking gas crisis, this product has been a tempting source of income for those who sell it. A 100-kilogram sack which in the old days cost between 100 and 150 pesos now has to be purchased at 250 pesos. How is this possible? But that is not all because miserable is the family that does not manage to purchase a sack of coal and that every day obtains a small quantity of this product which does not even amount to a kilogram for 15 and even 25 pesos, depending on the occasion and the supply. This is really inconceivable.

But the price of mangos really takes the cake. This is a product which for the most part is reproduced spontaneously, without requiring any great care, but which is sold at exorbitant prices with as much as 5 pesos for each mango or even 15 or 20 pesos for those from India. If this goes on, where

are we going to stop? And what about hotel prices where each meal now costs 275 pesos whereas a short time ago it only cost 200 pesos?

Speaking quite frankly, it is more than ever necessary now to review the situation for the benefit of the lower-income families so as to counter-balance the low wages and the high cost of living. If the government cannot at this time raise wages due to the country's economic situation, it must at least try to defend the interests of the citizens and it must not permit such arbitrary action and it must demand that each agency carry out all of its functions. The government must make sure that the problem of supervision will be properly reviewed and that each will assume his own functions in defense of the interests of the ordinary citizen who is the primary victim of unrestrained speculation.

5058

CSO: 4742/318

BRIEFS

SWEDISH RURAL FINANCING--A financing agreement in the amount of 30 million Swedish crowns (about 180 million pesos) was signed between Guinea-Bissau and SIDA (Swedish International Development Agency) and was earmarked for financing various projects in progress in the country. The document was signed by Comrade Carlos Correia, member, Political Bureau, PAIGC [African Independent Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde] and finance minister, and Mr Sven Ake Svenson, SIDA representative in Bissau. The nonrepayable financing will essentially go for the Rural Integrated Development Project of Zone I which comprises the regions of Biombo, Oio, and Cacheu, extending to other sectors, such as education, health, and natural resources. The signing ceremony was held last Wednesday in this capital and was attended by comrades Abubacar Toure, director general in the Ministry of Economic Coordination and Planning, and Jorge de Oliveira, director, Bachile Rural Extension Project. [Text] [Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 15 May 82 p 1] 5058

GDR MEDIA TRAINING--Last Wednesday, a ceremony opening the advanced training seminar for information personnel took place in the presence of Information and Culture Minister Filinto Barros and GDR Ambassador Manfred Feiferth. During the ceremony, which took place in the conference room of the Party Secretariat, Comrade Agnelo Regalla, director general of information, stressed the importance of this initiative "because the journalist must keep improving his skills all the time and upgrade himself professionally." Addressing a gathering of information workers which was very small--something that must be criticized severely because unfortunately it demonstrates the lack of interest on the part of some journalists--Agnelo Regallo talked about the bonds of cooperation which link the two countries, peoples, and the journalistic profession. After recalling the past record of our relationships of friendship, he praised the help which the GDR gave to the country, particularly to the national press. One of the leaders at the seminar, Fred Frotscher, generally outlined the objectives to be attained in this course. "The press must play a role as mobilizer, organizer, and educator," the German journalist emphasized. It must be noted that the seminar will be held for 4 weeks, simultaneously, at party headquarters (for radio personnel) and at the editorial offices of NO PINTCHA (for the printed press). [Text] [Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 22 May 82 p 2] 5058

DELEGATION TO KOMSOMOL CONGRESS--The JAAC (Amilcar Cabral African Youth) is represented at the 19th Congress of the Komsomol [Young Communist League] by comrade Teobaldo Barbosa, of the PAIGC [African Independent Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde] Central Committee and deputy secretary of the Guinean youth organization. The congress began last Tuesday and heard a speech by Komsomol Central Committee first secretary Boris Pastukhov and Central Control Commission chairman Yevgeniy Gluchevich. [Excerpts] [Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 22 May 82 p 2] 5058

AGRICULTURAL DELEGATION TO CUBA--The Republic of Guinea-Bissau is represented at the sixth congress of Cuban farmers which began yesterday in Havana. The country is represented by a delegation from the Secretariat of State of Liberation Fighters of the Fatherland and of Rural Development consisting of comrades Jose Lopes Vieira Junior, in charge of the Department for Control and Support for the Production Units, and Carlos Mateus Amarante Tavares, technical agriculture official. The congress, which ends next Monday and in which the country participates for the first time, will review past activities, as well as the profitability and output during the year which has just ended, and it will plan the new system for the current year. [Text] [Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 15 May 82 p 2] 5058

CSO: 4742/318

MUSLIMS OF RUIRU WARNED TO FOLLOW THE NYAYO OF MOI

Nairobi TAIFA LEO in Swahili 23 Apr 82 p 7

[Article by Kiambu: "Muslims in Ruiru Should Quit Their Greediness and Gluttony]

[Text] "Quit the greediness, the gluttony and great avarice for quickly making yourselves rich and vying for leadership," advised the Councilor of Ruiru, Mr Charles Njenga Ngacha.

Councilor Ngacha, speaking with TAIFA LEO, said that the citizens of Kenya are now aware and recognize true leaders by what they do, not by their words alone.

He said that the inhabitants of Ruiru and all the citizens of Kenya together should heed the president's call for Nyayo, that is, unity, love and trust; for without these three, there could be no progress nor the great respect which Kenya, this country of ours, has gained from the leadership of the wise President Moi.

Councilor Ngacha, explaining what he meant, said that there is a saying in the Kikuyu language: "Njuguma njega yumaga o-ikuriro," that is, "A good stick is naturally shaped the way it is;" and that, "Mwere mwega umenyagwo na magetha maguo," that is, "A good, first-rate plant is recognized at harvest time."

Councilor Ngacha urged the residents of Ruiru to follow President Moi's wise, courageous, loving and most of all, God-fearing leadership.

Touching on progress in the area of Ruiru that he represents, Councilor Ngacha said that the city of Ruiru continues to grow very quickly and that many factories have been built and many others would continue to be built and now there are many citizens who have been hired for work.

Councilor Ngacha warned those who are bragging that they would be presenting themselves as candidates for the chairmanship of the Ruiru Town Council, which was recently set up, by reminding them of the Swahili saying, "Don't buy clothes before the baby is born."

9216

CSO: 4749/32

READER TALKS ABOUT DIFFICULTY IN FINDING WORK

Nairobi TAIFA LEO in Swahili 24 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by Daudi A. Luvusi of Nakuru: "Difficulty in Getting Work in Kenya"]

[Text] Many parents deprive themselves of a comfortable life so they can pay for the studies of their children who are in secondary school.

If you look well you will find that the fees in these schools are very high, so that parents of two or more children are confronted with a heavy burden of fees, especially in colleges and the Harambee schools.

After the parents have carried this load, the children finish fourth form and fail to continue with their studies for some reason or another, and then, return to their parents looking for work.

Things are difficult these days. For example, are you hired just because you know someone?

That is the way things are these days.

In the end the children have nothing to do except to remain unemployed in the cities.

President Moi continually emphasizes and warns greedy employers who are sowing the seeds of clannishness, tribalism and cronyism to practice patriotism and employ citizens without any discrimination.

But there are some who do not follow this advice and instead hire only people of their own group. The first question these employers ask one looking for work is, "What is your tribe?"

The government should find some employment procedure that precludes clannishness, tribalism, religion and cronyism.

Finally, I would advise our children not to turn down work in whatever form, be it sweeping, cutting grass or hauling loads. Also enjoy self-employment work like sewing, shining shoes, carpentry, watch and clock repair, etc., for things have changed because of a lack of work.

9216

CSO: 4749/32

TEST FARM PROJECT TO GET OIL FROM PLANTS

Nairobi TAIFA LEO in Swahili 24 Apr 82 p 11

[Article by Patrick Mungai: "They Are Planting Euphorbia (Mchongoma (Flacourtia Indica)) to Get Petroleum"]

[Text] There are few domestic programs as attractive and talked about as the 300-million-shilling program for growing euphorbia in Loruk, Baringo District.

While some researchers are talking about the merits of these plants, others hope that this might be the solution to the oil shortage problems of Kenya.

This program, which is being carried out jointly by the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources and the Government of Belgium in an area of 1,000 hectares, is a major attempt at the use of a certain family of euphorbia which is found in tropical countries and can be used to make petroleum.

Tests recently conducted by Mobil oil company for the ministry showed that 7 tons of dried euphorbia can yield 1 ton of petroleum.

"This means that we can produce 8,000 liters of petroleum from 1 hectare of euphorbia per year," said the program's director Mr Philip Leakey, who also is a deputy minister in the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources.

Such an assessment indicates that Kenya's daily petroleum requirements could be met with 45,000 hectares of euphorbia which can thrive in deserts.

Even so, this program is still estimating the total cost to make one hectare of euphorbia productive and calculating the cost of dried euphorbia at the factory.

According to statements made by Mr Leakey, once this research is completed, it will be possible to determine whether euphorbia can be grown and used for making gasoline economically and profitably.

Research carried out on existing equipment has shown that because of its high oil yield, euphorbia can be produced at a cost of 150 shillings per ton of dried shrubs.

If so, then, gasoline made from euphorbia could be produced at a price of 3 to 4 shillings per liter, a price which would be cheap considering current economic conditions.

Other research that has been performed has shown that euphorbia could be used to produce for other fuels, e.g., charcoal. It was found that 50 tons of dried euphorbia can make about 15 tons of charcoal.

In this euphorbia program, clay brick kilns were built and used to make charcoal at low price.

Presently the euphorbia program which is being conducted in Baringo is continuing in cultivated fields, and labs and the workers' houses have been built there. The program has 80 Kenyan employees who are specialists in various fields.

Research

The idea of starting this program came to Mr Leakey in February, 1980. In his own words: "My inspiration came from what countries, like Brazil, Australia, Canada, and America, are doing to produce oil from plants as an alternative method of producing energy to drive generators."

"After analyzing many reports on the research done in those countries, I realized that many of the plants being researched are available locally," said Mr Leakey.

"As a result of this study I realized that oil could be derived from plants available in this country," he said.

Mr Leakey recommended to the government, through his ministry, to set up a program to do research on various plants found here in the country, to see if they are able to produce oil.

Then he visited various programs like those in America, Brazil and Mexico and returned satisfied that a similar plan could be carried out here in this country by using native plants which grow in the desert regions, and plants which, if they were grown, would not require different farming methods than those used for growing food plants in fertile regions.

The government approved Mr Leakey's recommendation and asked the Government of Belgium to provide money for the program through the Ministry For Cooperative Development.

In 1981 the Government of Belgium agreed to help with this program through a joint venture with the Government of Kenya by providing an amount of five million dollars and specialists to take part in the program.

The Three Types

The Government of Kenya agreed to allocate to the program through the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources 12 million shillings and to fund construction preparation of the test area and to hire the workers for the project.

The aims of the project in the beginning were two: First, to determine the fitness of various trees which are able to furnish oil sap; second, to gather evidence to show that that oil could be produced commercially where it would be exported also.

The research group was given areas for the research in Kibwezi, in Machakos District, the forst of Jilore and in Baringo. After a long period this group had 300 types of plants which could yield the necessary sap. This was a large number and after additional research, these plants were reduced to 30 which could furnish a large quantity of oil.

These 30 types were selected because they were easy to handle and could be transported easily too, said Mr Leakey. Also there were many of them that could yield a lot of oil.

Further research was done resulting finally in just four types of plants which were found to be able to produce oil easily and cheaply. Among these four, euphorbia seemed the best to use for this plan. From there, full research was begun on these shrubs.

Until then no one had successfully grown euphorbia as a farm crop, so no one knew how much it would cost to grow. The program continued and it was found that euphorbia would be able to yield a dried amount of 50 tons per year per hectare.

Research is still under way and, perhaps, euphorbia will become a plant grown by farmers in the desert regions of the country for producing petroleum.

9216

CSO: 4749/32

MAURITIUS

WHAT MMM/PSM WILL DO IF VICTORIOUS EXPLAINED

Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 27 Apr 82 pp 1, 6

[Interview with MMM/PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] alliance leaders Aneerood Jugnauth, Paul Berenger, Jean-Claude del'Estrac and Harish Boodhoo by representatives of L'EXPRESS, LE MAURICIEN and ADVANCE on 26 April 1982]

[Excerpts] "If the MMM/PSM alliance wins power this coming 11 June, a small apolitical administrative team (commissioners), currently being hand-picked by the leaders of the alliance, will be appointed to head the municipalities, mainly, pending the organization of municipal and village elections in the shortest possible time."

This statement was made by the secretary general of the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) yesterday morning during the interview with this leader of the MMM/PSM alliance, Mr Aneerood Jugnauth, from which Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) cameras were barred. In the course of this approximately 2-hour interview with newsmen, Mr Jugnauth, when pressed, revealed that he owns seven houses and a camp, but that his income varies since he is a professional man.

In response to questions, Mr Berenger also provided details on the unemployment allocations proposed in the MMM/PSM government program. However, Mr Jugnauth dismissed the idea that a future MMM/PSM government would grant an unemployment allocation to the 60,000 persons without jobs in the early months after it took office. The key leaders of the MMM/PSM alliance nevertheless stressed that a mixed committee is currently working on this matter, and that a number of scenarios are being studied, ranging from an unemployment allocation to each of the 60,000 to the choice of family responsibility criteria which will determine eligibility for this social aid.

In the course of his initial statement, the leader of the MMM/PSM electoral alliance spoke in particular of democracy under the regime of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam's Labor Party--the postponement of legislative elections during the 1970's, the abolition of partial elections, the postponement of the most recent municipal and village elections, the unhealthy situation which prevailed during the nomination of commissioners, government interference in the administration of certain institutions such as the Public Service Commission (PSC), the fate suffered by the private motions of the members of the parliamentary opposition, and the lack of parliamentary sessions in what will soon be 1 year. These were the main focuses of the criticisms of the regime in power voiced in this connection by the opposition leader.

Mr Jugnauth stated, moreover, that according to information in the possession of the MMM, the 2-billion-rupee loan which the prime minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, wants to obtain to launch developmental projects is about to be finalized. He said that foreign representatives are already in Mauritius and that in all probability the 2-billion-rupee loan will be ratified at the next meeting of the Council of Ministers. He used harsh words to denounce this personal maneuver undertaken by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, despite the warnings advanced by the minister of finance.

In response to questions, the key alliance leaders, to wit Messrs Berenger, Jean-Claude de l'Estrac and H. Boodhoo also made their contributions. The questions ranged from the controversial unemployment allocation to the rights of the opposition leader under a future MMM/PSM regime, and touched on the thorny problem of public holidays. The main aspects of this interview held yesterday developed as follows:

LE MAURICIEN: The MMM/PSM alliance attaches great importance to democracy. Can you give us the date of the next municipal and village elections, Mr Jugnauth, and the time period which will elapse before the reestablishment of partial elections, under an MMM/PSM regime?

Mr Jugnauth: The reestablishment of partial elections will be a priority for the MMM/PSM government, whether it has a good majority or not. We will ask the opposition to assume its responsibility in sponsoring a motion. It is in the interest of the country that this work be completed as quickly as possible. The task would be facilitated with a three-quarters majority. Where the holding of village and municipal elections is concerned, they will take place in as short a time as is practically possible.

LE MAURICIEN: Before December?

Mr Jugnauth: If we are able to do it.

LE MAURICIEN: From the MMM/PSM alliance viewpoint, would the ombudsman have the right of inspection in sectors in which the ministers are directly involved?

Mr Jugnauth: We believe that this ombudsman's right of inspection would be a veritable "deterrent" in the country. Moreover, I was with Bissoondoyal at the London conference during the discussion of the authority of the ombudsman such as to allow him to take action in cases of abuse of authority even by ministers.

LE MAURICIEN: How do you plan, concretely, to guarantee the independence of MBC television? Will it come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting?

Mr Jugnauth: MBC television will come under a ministry. The goal of the MMM/PSM government will be to make their radio and television services democratic. It is unacceptable that the opposition, which in a democracy represents an alternative government, should not have the right to radio time. This is nothing but a monopoly for the regime in power, and any sensible observer will see that the abusive use of the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation by the government is scandalous.

Board of Directors

LE MAURICIEN: Will the opposition be represented on the MBC television board of directors if an MMM/PSM government takes office?

Mr Jugnauth (drily): I don't think so.

Paul Berenger: The members of the MMM/PSM alliance are currently working on a draft law to replace the MBC Act. Certain responsibilities have been entrusted to Dr Y. Maudarbaccus. The MBC Act as such gives total authority to the prime minister "to give any directive," and all the MBC can do is carry out his orders. In the draft law being prepared, the ministerial authority will be precisely and clearly delimited. Where the members of the board of directors are concerned, it is not believed that having people representing the opposition government in an independent institution could seriously be contemplated. Moreover, the view that Dr S. Jugessur, discussed as a possible Labor candidate Friday, should have submitted his letter of resignation as president of the board, has been expressed.

Empty Promise

ADVANCE: You criticize the National Alliance Party for promising an unemployment allocation, but mention is made of this allocation in the MMM/PSM government program. Do you not believe it is a good thing to reassure the voters on this subject?

Mr Jugnauth: We are not against the unemployment allocation. What we reproach the regime in power for is lapsing again, as in 1976, into poorly planned and poorly organized free education (Mr Jugnauth mentioned the 10 million rupees appropriated by secondary school directors, the reintroduction of university tuition, the elimination of the Book Loan Scheme, the threat by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to reintroduce fees beginning with the Third Form). The government has not done serious work on unemployment compensation. We do not challenge the right of any political party to establish such a measure, but we do not want irresponsible action, any "empty promise to win votes."

Confusion

LE MAURICIEN: Within what time period do you think your unemployment allocation proposal could be put into affect.

Mr Jugnauth: Not in July. It will be necessary to turn to foreign agencies to formulate work plans. Nor can it be within the first six months of an MMM/PSM government. Meanwhile, "hardship cases" will be taken under study.

L'EXPRESS: On the subject of the unemployment allocation the MMM/PSM has promised to the 60,000 unemployed, can you tell us approximately the monthly amount, if it will be indexed, and if so, on what basis and what the sources of financing will be?

Mr Jugnauth: I can give you no details at present. A team is working on this.

Clearly Defined Criteria

Berenger: The team in charge has compiled a voluminous file on this subject. The legal text, the latest reports on the Unemployment Benefit Scheme in Great Britain, have been gone over with a fine tooth comb. Where the amount is concerned, this is directly related to the financing sources. We are studying a number of scenarios for unemployment allocations to all those unemployed without differentiation, or to certain groups selected on the basis of clearly established criteria. As to financing sources, we are discussing the matter with enterprise heads, taxpayers' associations and the trade unions. As soon as we are in power, the machinery for gathering the last data in connection with the preparation of a draft law will be set up. Where indexing is concerned, social allocations will be reviewed in the light of the rate of inflation.

LE MAURICIEN: Will municipal elections be held within 6 months? And will the current commissioners remain in place meanwhile?

Mr Jugnauth: We'll leave them as they are....

Mr Berenger: The time period will be as short as is practically feasible. For the interim, a list of apolitical administrators is currently being drafted. A very small number of these will be assigned to cover the interim period in the institutions involved until elections are held.

Opportunity for Women

LE MAURICIEN: Where women's representation is concerned, you seem to criticize the Labor Party while women account for only 3 percent of the MMM/PSM alliance slate (two women candidates).

Mr Jugnauth: We have had a maximum of two. This is not enough, but it is not our fault either, since according to our information from the PAN, there were 14 applications from women.

Mr Berenger: The regional administrations represent an excellent opportunity for women who want to get into politics on the national level.

ADVANCE: Can you tell us about the policy of the MMM/PSM alliance in connection with the number of official public holidays?

Mr Jugnauth: In principle, we are not against public holidays. Alternative solutions should be studied. And also, Mauritius has different religious contexts, and it is necessary to satisfy all communities on the public holiday issue.

L'EXPRESS: The MMM/PSM alliance is actively drafting the 1982/83 budget. Can you tell us if the budget will include sums for the following items: 1. unemployment allocations; 2. payment of the sums recommended by the Pay Research Bureau (PRB) report as of 1 July 1981; 3. the 13th month for government employees next December; and 4. next July's wage increase?

Mr Jugnauth: I do not have the details available. A committee is working on this. It is not possible to predict anything whatsoever for the unemployment allocation item in the budget. Considerations pertaining to the 13th month are currently being studied, and where the PRB report is concerned, it is difficult to say because we do not have the details of this report in hand. One must be realistic.

Imagination Needed in Government

Mr Berenger: Where the unemployment allocation is concerned, the 200 million rupees in the Contingencies Fund could have been used. It is our intention to propose a "token vote." With regard to the PRB report, we have made a formal commitment. With regard to the 13th month, a "token vote" will also be taken, but any decision will have to be considered in the light of a review of the economic situation. On the wage compensation issue also, a "token vote" is planned, pending the completion of wage negotiations.

L'EXPRESS: The MMM has always accused the minister of finance of not including precise sums in his budget.

Mr Berenger: We will insofar as possible reestablish the purchasing power of wages. We are working on a recovery budget. We must show imagination. We will keep our commitments while drafting a recovery budget.

L'EXPRESS: When the results of the legislative elections were announced on 21 December 1976, the MMM had elected 30 candidates, but along the line it has lost 6, representing a 20 percent decline. Can Mr Jugnauth swear to the 60 alliance candidates, or at the most, the 42 representing the MMM?

No Veto Right

Mr Jugnauth: Insofar as possible, I would say yes.

L'EXPRESS: Mr Jugnauth, can you give us an assessment of the consultations between the GM and the opposition leader in these past 5 years?

Mr Jugnauth: Such occurred, but this is a farce. One can add nothing to a government decision which has been promulgated. Moreover, the word "consultation" was interpreted by the Supreme Court as meaning quite simply "to inform." This is total nonsense!

L'EXPRESS: Will you give the opposition leader the right of veto after 11 June?

Mr Jugnauth: Certainly not the right of veto. He will come to me, and we will accept valid suggestions.

L'EXPRESS: Will you be ready to declare your assets publicly?

Mr Jugnauth: I say so at all the meetings.

Mr Berenger: A legal text on this matter is planned.

L'EXPRESS: Can you declare your assets this morning?

Mr Jugnauth: Of course. I am a professional man, and I do not have a fixed income. I own houses and I collect rents. That is all.

L'EXPRESS: Can you tell us how many houses?

Jugnauth: Seven (Mr de l'Estrac interrupted to ask if the same question could be asked of the other members of the team).

L'EXPRESS: What will be the....

Mr Jugnauth (interrupting suddenly): I also own a camp.

Balanced Cabinet

L'EXPRESS: The MMM/PSM alliance has been in contact with various governments within the context of the exercise of power. Is it true that quite recently a representative of the MMM held discussions with authorities in Mozambique, while on a mission to that country, in connection with technical and administrative training at an airport for some 40 militants?

Mr Jugnauth and Mr Berenger said simultaneously that they had no information on this subject.

Mr Berenger: Amedee Darga was recently in Zimbabwe, in Dar-es-Salaam. Moreover, we maintain very close relations with France, India and Algeria, which will in the future lead to aid.

L'EXPRESS: Why hasn't the PSM urged the Ministries of Finance and External Affairs to offset the balance of forces in the cabinet of a future MMM/PSM government?

Harish Boodhoo: Where the PSM is concerned it is clear. An alliance was not sought out of greed where the number of tickets and ministries was concerned. The two persons approached to serve in these two posts, to wit Paul Berenger and Jean-Claude de l'Estrac, are by far the best choices. The important thing is the collective work which will be done within this team.

The Goal

L'EXPRESS: How many ministries would the PSM have if the MMM/PSM alliance wins the election?

Harish Boodhoo: On the basis of the agreement, we will have five ministries.

L'EXPRESS: The breadwinners for 300 Mauritian families earn their living on Diego Garcia. What will the attitude of the MMM/PSM government be in this connection after 11 June?

Mr Jugnauth: We oppose the military presence of foreigners in the Indian Ocean. We will do everything to put an end to this war of influence in the Indian Ocean. We will undertake an overall effort.

L'EXPRESS: Will you eliminate the contingent of Mauritian workers on Diego Garcia?

Mr Jugnauth: That is our goal.

Mr Berenger: We have explained our position clearly to the American ambassador and his immediate colleagues. We will study the contracts and operate within the law.

Mr de l'Estrac: Not necessary to do it. The contracts are short term.

No Comment

L'EXPRESS: What is the feeling of the MMM about the rapprochement between India and Saudi Arabia, which has culminated in Mme Indira Gandhi's visit to Jedda?

Mr Jugnauth: We have nothing to say on this.

L'EXPRESS: Do you expect to have representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Mauritius, despite this current wave of assaults in France?

Mr Jugnauth: We oppose terrorism. The PLO struggle is different.

Mr Berenger: Identification of the PLO with the assaults is entirely unacceptable.

ADVANCE: Much has been written about the Santoo affair. What is the feeling of the MMM about it?

Mr Jugnauth (turning toward Berenger): We were out of the country at the time.

(Mr Berenger whispered to Mr de l'Estrac, and on learning that they were on Rodrigues at the time, he said that this matter should be clarified as soon as possible).

On the subject of government employees, Berenger said that there would not be "any great upsets, but certain limited changes." A little earlier Mr Harish Boodhoo had taken the opportunity to comment on his past political activities. He said in this connection that he still remains a "laborite," not of the stamp of the present representatives, but in the tradition of the likes of Rozemont, Anquetil, Pandit Sahadeo, Seeneevassen, etc.

5157

CSO: 4719/914

MAURITIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY ISSUES MANIFESTO

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 17 May 82 pp 4-5

[Text] The electoral manifesto set forth to the country by the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] is inspired, its authors say, by capitalism and Marxism-Leninism, two philosophies of which they say they have made a synthesis. In fact, the preface of the PMSD manifesto specifies: "Our political philosophy is a synthesis of classic capitalism and Marxism-Leninism."

The first chapter of the PMSD manifesto is devoted to foreign policy, and at the outset, the authors of the document state that the country must align itself with the West, "which alone is capable of guaranteeing our economic development through trade relations, investments, tourism and emigration, and which is the sole guardian of democratic freedoms in the world." The last of the five paragraphs in the chapter devoted to foreign policy stresses "a realistic and courageous foreign policy," the primary goal of which would be "to guarantee our economic development."

In the chapter on economic policy, the PMSD promises to get the economy moving again, to reabsorb the unemployed and to achieve full employment. To do so, the authors of the manifesto write, a PMSD government "will eliminate waste, will refuse to increase the number of unproductive jobs, will encourage promotion based on merit, efficiency and productivity on all levels in Mauritian society." The PMSD favors a policy "of rapid but controlled industrialization, growth in the tourist industry, recovery in investments, development of the free service zone and encouragement of savings, all of this accompanied by the necessary fiscal and monetary measures."

The manifesto states that there is currently a firm offer from investors in Taiwan to commission 300 plants in the free zone "within a 6-month period," which would provide 40,000 jobs, according to the PMSD. The creation of an export processing zone authority is also planned, as is the development of the free service zone.

The development of small and average enterprise through a suitable fiscal policy and other incentive measures, as well as the development of the southern part of the island through the reopening of the port of Mahebourg, the enlargement of Plaisance (with the PMSD prefers over the north airport), the establishment of a sugar refinery and the creation of a tourist center for seamen

and the military vacationing in the Indian Ocean are among the main economic projects of the PMSD. In the tourist sector, the PMSD proposes to convert the northern part of the island "into the Riviera of the Indian Ocean."

In the sports sector, the PMSD manifesto proposes the creation of a vast complex to accommodate multiple sports activities with tourist business in view. Courses for trotting and grayhound races will be developed. In addition to its appeal to tourists, the sports center will be able to accommodate major international competitions, the authors of the PMSD manifesto say.

Other projects which will aid recovery in the tourist industry are vacation centers for young people, students and middle-income tourists; the "diversification of tourism to the islands;" and the rationalization of craft employment. In connection with international trade, the PMSD proposes the development of regional cooperation and also the maintenance of the existing links with our main trade partners.

In the chapter on agriculture, the PMSD proposes devoting special attention to the problem of yield and efficiency, productivity and income distribution, and also undertaking "a vigorous policy of agricultural diversification." An amendment to the export tax on sugar is planned, as well as retention of the advantages acquired in relation to the EEC.

In the irrigation sector, the drip system "will be encouraged to the maximum by appropriate fiscal measures which will provide incentive for investments in this sector." Where food and farm production are concerned, the authors of the document write that everything will be done to reduce the country's dependence on foreign sources. They state that the cooperative movement will be closely linked with the agricultural diversification policy. Among the farm production projects are the raising of deer, cattle, swine, the raising of vegetable and fruit crops, aquaculture, horticulture and apiculture.

With regard to maritime resources, the manifesto proposes the exploitation of the polymetallic nodules found on the sea bottom in the Mauritian maritime sector. Prospecting for oil is also planned. The authors of the manifesto also urge intensive development of the fishing sector, in order to reduce our imports of fish.

In the energy sector, the PMSD supports a policy designed to reduce our dependence on nonrenewable and imported energy sources. Also, hydroelectric and solar energy, ethanol and use of the winds and tides will be the subject of more intensive studies and possibly concrete future projects.

A wage, price policy, maintenance of the existing job level and an atmosphere favoring the creation of new jobs, introduction of a plan for compulsory participation within enterprises and the establishment of enterprise committees are urged in the chapter on industrial relations. The PMSD advocates an unemployment allocation of 300 rupees per month for those out of work, noting "with pleasure that all the political parties today are in agreement" on this subject. An increase in social allocations for the neediest population strata

is planned. In the housing sector, the PMSD favors improvement of conditions in the housing developments, elimination of the deposit requirement and reduction of rents to 150 rupees per month. The laws will be amended to make the CHA and MHC "more functional," the manifesto promises.

A special chapter is devoted to the acceleration of the development of Rodrigues.

5157

CSO: 4719/1017

MMM/PSM ANTIVIOLENCE RALLY REPORTED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 17 May 82 pp 1, 5

[Text] The "mobilization against violence" meeting which was held in Sebastopol yesterday on the initiative of the MMM/PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] alliance took on the aspect of a celebration when the crowd, estimated at between 5,000 and 6,000 individuals, carrying flags and waving color photographs of Mr Aneerood Jugnauth, surged joyfully into the crossroads of the Royal Road, bedecked with the colors of the two parties. Before the meeting began, more than an hour late, numbers of young people who had climbed onto the roofs of neighboring buildings could be seen dancing to the music of songs being broadcast over the loudspeakers. Not only the three MMM candidates for the district, Messrs Ramduth Jaddoo, Jugdish Goburdhun and Azize Asgarally, but in particular the MMM and PSM leaders Aneerood Jugnauth and Harish Boodhoo, were given a warm welcome. Heavy applause greeted them and Paul Berenger, who despite his protests was borne in triumph to the rostrum. "There are many there more powerful than I. I'm not pleased with the quality of this act. I ask in the future this not be repeated for it's not our manner. We are content to walk hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder," the secretary general of the MMM said in this connection.

The various successive speakers, adhering to the named theme of the meeting, stressed the atmosphere of violence which, "like in December 1978," has reappeared on the political scene in this electoral campaign period. They denounced violence in all its forms--physical violence, violence in language, that which appears in the form of persecution, repression and poverty which is plaguing the country. In some instances the speakers strayed from the subject, stating that the knell will sound for the Labor Party on 11 June, that the "communal specter" some are trying to revive is doomed, that the publicity campaign the labor party has waged on television, far from benefiting it, "in the end worked against that party."

Mr Jugnauth said that during the period in the 1960's when he was in the government, the prime minister designated him as his "successor."

Mr Berenger said that the PT [Labor Party] will soon come out with another film denouncing torture and executions, in an effort to make it appear that he, Mr Berenger, would have recourse to such means if he were to win power. He said that Mrs Gandhi refused to participate in the Labor Party publicity

films, because she is "more desirous than anyone of seeing the advent of an MM/PSM government in Mauritius." This is why she is not to be seen in the films currently being shown.

Mr Ramduth Jaddoo, who presided at the meeting, expressed his satisfaction at the outset with the massive attendance by militants in response to the appeal of the MMM/PSM leadership. He then went on to recall that the atmosphere of violence, persecution and repression in 1976 was such that the militants were afraid to display their political colors. But today he asked the crowd "MMM/PSM--yes or no?" "Yes!" screamed the crowd. Mr Jaddoo then spoke, recalling how in that "dark period" in 1976, some individuals attended the private meetings of the MMM, wrote down names and subsequently passed them on to certain politicians. Reprisal measures were then taken against these people. They were transferred and made to swear they would work for the PT.

He also recalled the incident at Montagne Blanche just prior to the elections, when MMM supporters could not venture into the streets, where the thugs of a political party stood guard. That night, Azize Asgarally, the MMM candidate, whose car was followed by a fleet of vehicles carrying gangsters, remained safe thanks only to a family who kept him with them overnight.

Nonexistent Police

Today, the threat of transfer has surfaced again. Anyone will tell you, the speaker said, what order and discipline characterizes the work of the militants. He recalled the extent to which the secretary general of the MMM, Mr Berenger, has been the victim of violence during his career as a politician.

The leader of the PSM, who then took the floor, was welcomed with thunderous applause. He had barely begun to speak when Mr Paul Berenger was seen to arrive, carried in triumphantly. Visibly annoyed, he was shaking his head, but smiling nonetheless.

Mr Boodhoo stressed the fact that the electoral battle will be waged on the economic level, and that the triumph of the MMM/PSM alliance is a certainty. He spoke for a short time in Bhojpuri before praising the virtues of Mr Jugnauth, who is a man of "remarkable honesty, intelligence and simplicity." He made an appeal to laborites who are still hesitating to join the MMM/PSM alliance.

Mr Jugdish Goburdhun, for his part, recalled the order and discipline which typified the 1 May meeting in Rose-Hill. The police even said there was no need for their presence at the demonstration. In a sharp denunciation of violence in all its forms, Mr Asgarally stated, in his address, that it is as the saying goes generally "the weak who make use of them." Mr Jugnauth, who spoke next, predicted from the outset "the end of the reign of Sir Satcam Boollell, No 3 man in the government, who is a candidate in the Montagne Blanche district. On the subject of communalism and violence, he said in substance that the history of the MMM has often demonstrated that this party has always been their victim. If the MMM has taken steps, it has been above all to defend itself, he added. The President of the MMM went on to say that there are

some individuals who will stop at nothing to achieve their goals. It is the duty of all militants to remain vigilant in order to counteract violence in all its forms.

Chosen Successor

In this connection he warned the police against servile alignment with certain individuals who will not be ministers any longer after 11 June. "We are not asking any favors of him, but simply that he act impartially and without any discrimination. We will not tolerate, but will impose penalties for, any abuse," Mr Jugnauth stated in a severe tone.

He asked his attentive audience to avoid falling into the trap of the Labor Party telecasts. Refuting the assertion of his adversaries to the effect that he "represents nothing," Mr Jugnauth indicated that at the time when he served with the Ramgoolam government, he was regarded by the prime minister as a "hope" for the country and "as a competent minister." This praise did not please certain ministers, including the minister of agriculture, Sir Satcam Boolell. "When I resigned from the government in disgust with the PT deviation," he added, "the prime minister came to my home to ask me to resume my position in the cabinet, telling me that it would be for me to succeed him one day. May the good lord punish me if I am not telling the truth," Mr Jugnauth said. This speaker attributed the ill will against him to the fact that it was inconceivable to some that he could belong to the MMM.

The last speaker, Mr Paul Berenger, explained for his part that the pages of history have often been written in violence. In Mauritius itself, he said, when the slaves, in order to break their chains, and the coolies, to obtain their freedom, had to turn to violence, Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged that when a people moves forward, violence becomes inevitable at a certain time, although it is not desirable. "What most merits denunciation," he said, "is the violence of the reactionaries." Continuing on this theme, Mr Berenger said that the various forms violence takes should be denounced, including violence of language. And after the elections, we must teach our opponents a lesson, by showing great generosity of heart, "have no bitterness, but instead open your heart wide to those who have nurtured other ideas," he urged.

National Recovery with Jugnauth

Mr Berenger had the highest praise for Mr Jugnauth, whom he described as a man of "honesty" and "exemplary correctness." At the time when he was minister, he was unwilling to take advantage of tax-free privileges, for example with regard to vehicles and whiskey. "Mr Jugnauth embodied the MMM even before it was founded. He is a worthy leader who will see to the country's recovery, a man behind whom we are all proud to work."

On the subject of the Labor Party telecasts, Mr Berenger said he had information according to which the PT had to pay a one-time fee of 3,000 rupees for just one half-hour of time. The truth will be known after the elections, he said.

Along another line of thinking, he urged the unemployed to accept what the government grants them in this electoral period, and he added that the MMM will abolish nothing if it wins power, but will consolidate all of these measures in a rational fashion.

In another connection, the organizers report that 8,000 persons attended the MMM/PSM meeting held yesterday in Plaine Verte. As was the case in Sebastopol, the main theme was violence. The speakers were three deputies from the district, Messrs Cassam Uteem, Osman Gendoo and Bashir Khodabux. Dr Rohit Beedassy and Mr H. Boodhoo, of the PSM, as well as MMM leaders Aneerood Jugnauth and Paul Berenger, were guests.

5157

CSO: 4719/1018

CONTENTS OF LABOR PARTY MANIFESTO REPORTED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 19 May 82 pp 1, 5

[Text] The Labor Party (PT) has just published its electoral manifesto, a 46-page booklet in which it proposes a "new social contract." The document contains an assessment of the Labor government action, 10 goals and 30 proposals. In the introduction, the opposition is first of all charged with responsibility for all of the evils of a local nature which have affected the economy, adding to the economic problems of an international sort. "But despite these domestic and foreign difficulties," the document says, "the Labor Party has never ceased to work for the country's advance." The electorate is urged to cast a "massive" vote for the PT, so that the party will not suffer in the next legislative assembly from "the same constraints as hindered it during the last legislative assembly."

In its assessment of the situation, the document stresses that "the citizens of Mauritius enjoy full liberty: freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom of association and freedom of religion." The PT also boasts of having worked for universal suffrage and the right to vote at the age of 18. In connection with foreign relations, diplomatic links are maintained with "more than 90 countries." Mauritius "has opted for the path of nonalignment." In the demographic realm, the document says that without the measures adopted by the PT, the population of Mauritius would have reached 1.4 million by today.

Defense of the Workers

Under the heading "Defense of the Workers," the Labor manifesto assesses the activity of the PT as positive in terms of the trade unions and the laboring masses. It says that "the era of shameless exploitation, subjection and humiliation for the workers is past history. But the battle has not been won. Other fortresses still remain to be taken. The Labor Party will take them with the support of the workers." The manifesto says that the PT defends the right to unionize and to struggle "for more industrial democracy," and "has taken a resolute stand beside the workers class," such that it has "succeeded in safeguarding the workers against the stranglehold of adventurers and dictators." This is doubtless an allusion to the opposition trade unionists, but no mention is made in this chapter of the Industrial Relations Act.

To illustrate the "social and economic progress" made since independence was won, the authors of the labor manifesto present a series of figures: the

number of vehicles has doubled; the number of motorcycles has tripled; the number of bicycles has been multiplied by 8; 57,000 new homes have been built; the number of telephones has doubled; the number of refrigerators has quadrupled; the number of television sets has been multiplied by 6; 100,000 new jobs have been created; and the number of tourists is 8 times the previous figure. In addition, the government has created a large "welfare state" in which many subsidies are granted the most neglected sectors, the labor document says.

The manifesto also asserts that the PT has carried out the first phase of rural development; has successfully brought about agricultural diversification; has given women the means for emancipation, thanks above all to the amendments to the Napoleon Code; and has introduced "the principle of equal wages for equal labor" for women in relation to men. Not to be overlooked, moreover, are the creation of a ministry of youth and sports, the introduction of the free education system, the hospital service, old-age pensions and other social measures, the relocation of disaster victims as well as the implementation of a housing program based on the principle of "a roof for each family," strict price control, and the construction of new roads.

On the subject of goals, the Labor manifesto says that the PT has always worked for "the defense of democracy and respect for minorities" and "the building of a new civilization in which the plurality of races, religions and cultures will be not a divisive factor for the collective, but a source of enrichment for each man and woman in Mauritius. This ideal should rally the entire country."

Double Suffrage for the Workers

The document then sets forth 30 proposals, one of which is designed to change the constitution of the country in order to grant workers in the sugar industry, the municipalities and other sectors double suffrage in the elections to send representative to the assembly. As to women, they will be appointed to the assembly directly. The manifesto says that all of these reforms will go into effect in January 1983.

The manifesto states that the PT reasserts the right of Mauritius to exercise sovereignty over Diego Garcia, noting that this party has already launched proceedings for the return of the Chagos Archipelago (of which Diego Garcia is a part) to Mauritian territory. (Note: No formal request for return has as yet been submitted by the Mauritian government to the government in London on this subject.) In the case of Rodrigues, the PT, in its manifesto, adopts a position against "any effort at secession."

Imperialism and Racism Denounced

The foreign policy proposals include denunciation of imperialism, racism and colonialism, defense of the rights of blacks in South Africa and Namibia, demilitarization of the Indian Ocean, respect for the principle of nonalignment and a broader opening toward the Arab world.

In connection with the creation of jobs, a number of incentive measures are promised with a view to the creation of 47,000 jobs in the small business sector "after several years." The creation of an industrial democracy commission is promised to defend the rights of the workers. "The goal of the PT is to increase the power of the workers."

Other projects include maintenance of the private sector, "dynamization" of the government sector, agrarian reform to allocate land among those who work it, environmental protection, development of the fishing industry and the maintenance of justice.

Defense of Public Morality

In the chapter on public morality, the PT presents itself as its fierce defender. "Charges of corruption have been made from time to time, which rightly provoked a keen reaction on the part of the public," the Labor manifesto acknowledges. It promises the creation of a committee to improve the laws against corruption.

The PT proposes to encourage vocational training in a number of sectors, including the press. Other projects include protection of the family, disease prevention, expansion of social protection measures, the development of leisure time activities, reduction of our dependence in the energy sector through the use of ethyl alcohol and other so-called renewable energy sources as well as economy measures, the building of housing for those involved in the new facilities, improvement of transportation, the reopening of the port of Mahebourg, encouragement of mass tourism and tourist use of the islands surrounding Mauritius, the development of Rodrigues, on which an "island council" will be created (a promise which has been made for more than a decade) and the expansion of regional democracy.

In the conclusion of the manifesto, the PT is described as having been since 1936 "the motive historical force for the national liberation and emancipation of the people."

5157

CSO: 4719/1015

MAURITIUS

MSPA FORESEES 200 MILLION RUPEE DEFICIT

Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 17 Apr 82 pp 1, 6

[Text] The sugar crop for 1982 will result, for the sugar factories as a whole, in a deficit amounting to a little over 200 million rupees; at least, that is the figure arrived at by the Mauritius Sugar Producers Association (MSPA), on the basis of a 690,000 ton sugar harvest.

With this tonnage, Mauritius would meet all its EEC quota, but will also have to sell a certain quantity on the open market, where prices are constantly falling at the moment; this price is incidentally much lower than production costs in Mauritius.

Still with regard to the 1982 campaign and still taking into consideration a hypothetical output of 690,000 tons, the export duty for sugar companies will amount to 414 million rupees (that is, over twice the estimated deficit for them) and more if output reaches or exceeds 700,000 tons of sugar.

For both 1980 and 1981, the government took in a total of 563 million rupees from the sugar companies in export duties, whereas the companies wound up with an overall deficit of 376 million rupees for the 2 years.

Complaints have been made to the government by the Board of Agriculture and the MSPA. Several working sessions have taken place between representatives of these two organizations and the prime minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, and the minister of finance, Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo.

During the meetings, the sugar industry representatives expressed their grave concern to the government, and stressed in particular the inability of the industry to invest in equipment renewal.

The government representatives were very receptive to the views expressed by the Board of Agriculture and the MSPA, whose documentation is being studied.

Industry representatives also had a meeting with high-ranking experts of the International Monetary Fund in Mauritius.

Of particular concern to the sugar industry are not only the serious cash flow problems the sugar factories are having to face, but also their profitability problem.

The latter problem has done nothing but get worse from day to day, because, as the industry borrows to meet its daily obligations (including personnel wages), its profitability is all the more affected.

The example is given of a sugar company that about 3 weeks ago, did not have the resources to meet its personnel wages obligations within 24 hours, having exceeded its authorized bank overdraft, and having also been turned down by the State Bank and the State Finance Corporation. When informed of such a situation, the government agreed to delay that company's export tax slice due at the end of March. Subsequently, the State Bank and the State Finance Corporation agreed to help the company in question, which was thus able to settle its cash flow problem.

Numerous suggestions have been made by sugar industry representatives to the government, the two most important being total abolition of the export tax and long-term loans at a low interest rate.

Non-renewal of sugar factory equipment, finally, is producing a very negative chain reaction among heavy equipment shops, maintenance shops, major industry suppliers which amount to sugar industry satellite sectors.

12149

CSO: 4719/944

MAURITIUS

LITTLE GAIN FROM SEYCHELLES TOURIST PRICE SURGE SEEN

Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 20 Apr 82 p 6

[Text] Since the number of tourists visiting the Seychelles has fallen by about 50 percent, as a result of a hotel, etcetera, price surge, and serious political problems like the recent abortive coup d'etat in that country, Mauritian travel agents and officials of the large local tourist hotels were expecting the number of tourists here to increase considerably, and even June, which is the slowest month, to be fairly good.

With the elections set for 11 June, and since tourists only visit foreign countries to enjoy themselves, they systematically avoid periods subject to problems -- like elections, specifically -- and tourist industry circles have noted that reservations for that month were slow.

Representatives of agencies abroad had in any case warned them not to expect a lot of reservations during election periods, and that potential vacationers would probably prefer to travel elsewhere.

However, June reservations of long standing (perhaps made before the date was set) have not been cancelled, or at least not yet.

Since August 1981, travel agents visiting Mauritius have been expressing the opinion that if prices in Mauritius were maintained, the Mauritian tourist industry could take over a large portion of the Seychelles clientele, because of their price surge that had occurred there.

The average over a year is 10,000 tourists a month in Mauritius; the average number in June is 6,000.

12149
CSO:

'EXCELLENT' MAIZE CROP FORESEEN FOR RODRIGUES

Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 20 Apr 82 p 7

[Text] The maize harvest in Rodrigues, which will begin at the end of the month, is estimated by certain authoritative circles in Port Louis at about 1,800 tons, which is an excellent crop. This estimate has incidentally been confirmed by the experts of the French animal husbandry mission which was on the island last week. The average crop the last two years was about 1,200 tons.

The excellent maize crop is explained by ideal climate conditions that prevailed during the season. In one sense, this crop contradicts the official thesis that the maize crop had been severely affected by the passage of cyclone Damia through the Rodrigues area in mid-January. In a Ministry of Foreign Affairs communique dated 22 January, it was reported that "the maize crop was totally destroyed." But authoritative circles in Rodrigues had stated that planters in Rodrigues had only put in a portion of the seeds, and that the planters were waiting for a good rainstorm before sowing.

In addition, during a recent visit to Mauritius, the resident commissioner, Dr Sydney Moutia, confidently stated that for this season, Rodrigues would produce more maize than Mauritius would, despite the fact that Rodrigues occupies an area only one-eighteenth the size of Mauritius (42 square miles compared to 721 square miles).

The maize crop could well be far larger than the figure already given, it is asserted in other circles. The latter explain that taking inventory of the crop is rendered rather difficult because the harvested maize is used as animal fodder by the planters themselves.

The Agricultural Marketing Board imports maize from Rodrigues when there is a surplus. Over the past few years, there has been no importation of maize from Rodrigues. The area under maize is about 2,000 acres.

With implementation of the Malagasy Bay integrated agricultural production project, financed by the European Development Fund (EDF), the authorities are planning to establish maize growing in Rodrigues on more rational and

scientific bases. The project might start during the second half of this year. FED research for this project has reached an advanced stage. Agreement on financing is supposed to occur at the beginning of the second six-month period, according to authoritative government circles.

12149

CSO: 4719/945

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

FUMO DEATH PAMPHLETS--Harare.--Pamphlets called "liberatacao"--liberation--calling for the murder of foreigners in Mozambique are circulating in Maputo. "Liberatacao" carries phrases such as "death to Frelimo and the cooperantes"--a term by which expatriates in Mozambique are known. "Liberatacao" claims to be a product of an internal network of "jumo", the youth wing of Fumo, the Mozambican United Front.--Sapa. [Text] [Harare THE CITIZEN in English 3 Jun 82 p 2]

CSO: 4700/1365

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA ESTABLISHES DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH TAIWAN

Officials' Visit to Taiwan

Windhoek REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 26 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] This month the South-West established diplomatic ties and relations on a trading level with Taiwan after a group of politicians and business personalities paid an 8-day visit to the Far East country. The tour was arranged by the PROSWA Foundation.

The group of politicians were Mrs Anna Frank and Minister Jurgen von Hase along with the city clerk of Windhoek Mr Attie Arnold.

Among those visited were the deputy minister of Taiwan's Foreign Affairs Ministry, Mr Edward Kuang, who was ambassador to South Africa for 7 years and who came to South-West Africa on three occasions. Especially strong ties have been established with Taiwan through Mr Kuang.

According to the chairman of PROSWA, Mr Peter Goodland, there are effective agreements between Taiwan and the South-West and for this reason the decision was made to learn more about the rapidly developing country.

Like the South-West Taiwan is not recognized by the UN, but despite international opposition this Eastern country has a flourishing economy. As an example Mr Goodland mentioned that Taiwan's exports in 1981 amounted to about 41.5 billion rand, while in 1949 they were still not carrying on any export trade.

One of the most important reasons for Taiwan's success is the business skill exhibited by the government. For example, land was rented at a normal price to foreign countries who built factories there and then proceeded to employ Taiwanese workers.

In this manner care was taken that unemployment was kept to a minimum, the country had an income and the export of manufactured products such as cameras, radios, clothing, etc. was managed by foreign countries.

Mr Goodland also referred to the hardworking nature of the Chinese and their determination to make a success of each business enterprise. In 1977 Taiwan

opened a shipbuilding dock for the first time in its history. By 1978 they had already built the first ship and they did this while old existing shipbuilding docks such as those in Glasgow had a hard time making a go of it.

The success attained by the shipbuilding industry is such that now Taiwan has the third largest shipbuilding dock in the world. Only Japan's and South Korea's shipyards are producing more than Taiwan's.

What impressed the group of South-West visitors most was their business skill. In processing raw materials the Taiwanese have eliminated many processes and this has resulted not only in speeding up production, but in making the price of goods much cheaper.

Mr Goodland related the account of the group's visit to a steel industry where they were able to observe how they departed from the old methods of production thus reducing production time considerably.

Even in the agricultural field the South-Westerners could light candles to them. Whether it has to do with rice farming, hog raising or the planting of pineapples...nothing is wasted. Leaves are used, hog offal is cast into fresh water dams for raising fish; also the irrigation system for the fields has been worked out to a fine art, said Mr Goodland.

Visits were also made to military academies, a nuclear power station, the trade fair and to several government departments. There was a meeting with the Chinese Foreign Development Council where good contacts were established.

According to Mr Goodland the visit surpassed expectations in its success and much more was accomplished than was ever hoped.

A Proud Accomplishment

Windhoek REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 27 Apr 82 p 6

[Editorial: "Our Ties Abroad"]

[Text] The contact which South-West Leaders (politicians and business people) have established with Taiwan stands out as a sign of the daring with which the people who believe in their country have undertaken the struggle.

For too long there have been too many South-Westerners used to the idea that it was South Africa which does things for the South-West, and whatever it did not do was just left alone.

An independent South-West Africa/Namibia must be known all around the world, and must have friends all around the world, for its own sake and for the sake of the greater southern Africa community.

A modern state simply cannot remain in isolation and cannot progress in isolation. Internationally speaking it must be on the cards. On the part of the

government, the business community and other entities more contacts with the outside world have been made than is generally realized.

This most recent action on the part of PROSWA to strengthen our ties with Taiwan and the role played by Anna Frank, Jurgen von Hase and Attie Arnold are showing the recipe for success to others who are in earnest.

7964

CSO: 4701/70

JUSTIFICATION FOR KALANGULA'S ACTIONS PROVIDED

Windhoek A.D.K. 'INFORMATIONS' in English Apr 82 pp 2-4

[Text] "Storm In a Teacup or End of an Experiment?"

Peter Kalangula was born in 1926, a son of a chief of one of the largest Ovambo tribes, the Kwanyama. He was educated at the Mission School of the Anglican church in his tribal area.

After leaving school, he studied for a teacher's degree by correspondence course and taught for two years before changing over to the civil service. Later he studied theology and after four years of studies at two theological institutions in South Africa was ordained an Anglican missionary. He became a priest in his own tribal area in Ovamboland. Here he clashed with the (white) bishop of the Anglican church because the latter took the side of SWAPO in his public addresses. Kalangula founded his own church.

In 1977 he was elected a foundation member of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and later to membership of the executive board of this organisation. When Pastor Ndjoba retired, Peter Kalangula became president.

His work as a Christian priest may have influenced his approach to his people's problems. Even during his period as president of the DTA, where different ethnic groups with their own language and culture are recognised, Peter Kalangula always argued in favour of changing the parent organisation of 11 ethnic groups into a united party.

The following details reflect the main reason for this desire to change the structure of government in Namibia.

1. Roughly 50% of the entire population of Namibia are Ovambo, the remaining 50% being divided among 10 ethnic groups, each with its own language, culture, way of life and development level.

In the case of a unitarian situation, the Ovambo, because of their majority, would practically decide the fate of the rest of the population. They could rule the country without taking the interests of the other groups into consideration.

The old dream of uniting the Ovambo of SWA/Namibia and those across the border in Angola is not a thing of the past, even though the realisation of this dream does not appear feasible in the near future.

Even Kalangula is dreaming of ethnic borders. As he is speaking against ethnicity and using the ethnic principals of the DTA as his alleged reason for leaving, that is illogical.

Should this dream become reality - in which case many borders in Africa would be altered - the predominance of the Ovambo would be even greater.

2. The largest part of the world is not happy that today's ruling party in Namibia, the DTA acknowledges the right of different ethnic groups to retain their identity. They want a unitarian state although that could leave roughly 50% of the population without political rights. Kalangula's move could precipitate not a confrontation between Black and White, but a North - South border dispute. It is not the preservation and protection of the white population that is at stake but the fate of ten ethnic groups in Namibia.

It is claimed that there is reason to believe our European mother countries have already attempted to break up the DTA - the main handicap towards a unitarian state.

Accusations made by DTA Chairman Dirk Mudge and Vice-President Herero Chief Riruako have been rejected by the West German Representative in Cape Town. According to him West Germany never interfered in SWA/Namibian internal affairs and had nothing to do with the Kalangula affair. However this denial doesn't exclude interference by West German citizens or organisations.

The first attempt to break the DTA has failed. The second may also fail because West German standards are applied to the political situation and views in SWA/Namibia which are seen only from a West German point of view. This country and its people have their own standards and ideas.

Kalangula has declared that he would withdraw from the DTA 'with his party'. Kalangula has no party. He is not even a member of the NDP (National Democratic Party). Neither T. Imbili, chairman of the NDP nor its secretary Nigelifua, had any knowledge of Kalangula's intentions. Both have remained members of the DTA and the National Assembly, T. Imbili still retaining his position as Ovambo member of the Council of Ministers.

The NDP has never been active in Ovamboland, it is more or less unknown to the population. The DTA is wellknown and a tragicomic fact is that the DTA made Kalangula known in Ovambo and "Built him up". That is the foundation on which Kalangula is standing today. Without the DTA he would be a small unknown politician.

The future will show how strong his support in Ovambo really is.

There is no doubt whatsoever that Kalangulas' withdrawal from the DTA is a great disappointment, not only for the DTA but for the whole country. The DTA however is NOT facing a breakdown but is continuing with its work, even in Ovambo.

Kalangula's main problem is that he stands for a united party, in fact, a unitarian state. For this reason the small number of ethnically orientated groups who wished to join him cannot be accommodated. Their inclusion would have created a parent organisation similar to the DTA, making Kalangula appear unreliable and ridiculous.

These small groups have applied for membership and some have had their application accepted. In the meantime the Damara Council, ruling party in Damaraland has started negotiations with Kalangula, aiming at uniting the two parties.

It will be interesting to see how both are accommodated: the unitarian thought and the wish of the Damara to retain their party identity.

If the Damara Council and other parties dissolve in the future to join Kalangula's or some newly founded organisation, they would drown in the Ovambo masses.

If one would ask: Why did Kalangula take this step? the question would be formulated incorrectly. To find out the real truth one should ask: Who made him do it? Who brought him or rather pushed him into the position where he is today?

He left the National Party together with Mudge and was a founder member of the Republican Party (RP). He became the representative of the Whites in the Council of Ministers and resigned on his own accord last year because of differences with the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dirk Mudge. (H.J. von Hase is his successor). He asked the main committee of the RP to allow him keep his membership and declared that he could see only one way of solving SWA's problems and that was the DTA way.

One of the main figures responsible for the present situation is Werner Neef, a german speaking Southwester, born in the country and active politician for a long time. He had been a member of the National (white) party, one of their representatives in the Legislative Assembly, the early parliament of the country.

Soon after his resignation however it was rumoured that he would found a party of his own "to collect the members and supporters crumbling away from the DTA and SWAPO in a party of the middle". According to him financial support from West-German officials and organisations and a party organiser from Federal Germany had been promised.

As Werner Neef today is head adviser to Kalangula and again sits in the National Assembly, this time as representative of the Ovambos one can assume that he sees the origins of this 'middle party' in Kalangula or wants to use him for that purpose.

Neither Kalangula nor Werner Neef are friends of SWAPO. On the contrary: Both of them strongly reject marxism. Undoubtedly both of them have good intentions. This shall not be questioned. But whether they have ever asked themselves: Do we 'push' or are we being 'pushed' - that is a different, not unimportant question.

In order to do justice to Kalangula the following should be explained:

The majority of Ovambos are war-weary - understandably so. Who could blame them?

It is they who have to suffer the terror carried into their country from the North.

It is their leaders who are shot in cold blood,
their relatives who are torn apart by landmines,
their children who are abducted
their houses which are looted and burned to the ground,
their property which is stolen and destroyed,
their lives being threatened all the time -
whereas the other ten population groups, the rest of the country is seldom directly involved.

The Ovambo have to bear the main burden of the war because of the geographic position of Ovamboland. They bear it though most of the people scarcely understand what it is all about.

Independence for Namibia which all of us - even the five Western powers - had hoped would take place at the 31 December 1978, and with it the end of war and terror, has not been achieved yet.

With every meeting of the Western powers, with every conference, hope for a quick, peaceful solution, in fact a peaceful solution at all - becomes less and less.

The West seems to be powerless - or doesn't understand us and our situation. How else could it be fooled by marxist SWAPO? That this is the case has been proved again and again. For instance, with the negotiations of the first phase of the three phase talks. SWAPO's demands have always been met by the UN - and SWAPO d o e s n ' t want an election, it wants power. This is no secret but has been spelt out by Sam Nujoma and his "comrades" often enough.

Are the democratic western powers deaf? We who originate from the West don't understand them any more. How can Kalangula and his people understand them?

What Kalangula did was done from a feeling of abandonment - abandoned by the West and also by the rest of SWA/Namibia, because it doesn't share the ordeals of his people.

Who will throw the first stone at him?

CSO: 4700/1368

RIRUAKO REPROACHES CHURCHES AS SWAPO ABETTORS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 4 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] **THE Lutheran and Catholic churches in Namibia were accomplices in acts of murder against the people, Mr. Kuaimo Riruako, member of the Ministers' Council said this week in the National Assembly.**

The DTA Vice-Chairman was speaking during the Budget debate when he said: "The blood of this country is on the hands of the Catholics and Lutherans because they assist the murderers to murder well."

These churches were acting as agencies for Swapo and encouraged ill-feelings amongst the inhabitants of the country, according to Mr Riruako.

"They are not the only Christians", Mr Riruako said.

Before his attack on the two churches, Mr Riruako referred to Owambo Chairman Mr Peter Kalangula's newly-formed Christian Democratic Action for Social Justice (CDA).

He said the influences of the Lutheran and Catholic churches were at work in

Mr Kalangula's latest political moves to mobilise the Owambo people along Christian democratic lines.

He criticised the Owambo leader for not using Central Government grants to buy land for Owambo farmers outside Owambo.

"Kalangula keeps his people caged in Owambo for his own purposes. We want the people of Owambo all over the country, not only in Owambo," Mr Riruako said.

CSO: 4700/1368

THREE SWAPO MEMBERS JAILED FOR 29 YEARS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 3 Jun 82 p 11

[Text] WINDHOEK. — Three Swapo terrorists were jailed for a total of 29 years by the Windhoek Supreme Court yesterday.

Josef Sagarias (20), Theofilus Jason (20) and Lucius Nangala Malambo (22) were convicted on February 24 this year on charges under the Terrorism Act.

Sagarias and Jason were each sentenced to nine years' imprisonment. Malambo was sentenced to 11 years.

Earlier evidence before the court was that the three men had been among a group of 22 Swapo terrorists that infiltrated traditionally White farm districts in SWA in April last year.

Sagarias, Jason and Malambo had been captured while heading towards the Angolan border.

The rest of the group had been killed.

Sagarias and Jason had been seriously wounded in skirmishes with security forces while Malambo had surrendered after further resistance had become impossible, said Mr Justice Ken Bethune.

In his reasons for sentence, the judge said

it had been common cause that the three men "were wearing distinguishing uniforms of Swapo's armed wing".

Skirmishes between the terrorists and security forces could be described as having taken place in "a war situation", he said.

The defence had led evidence about political and constitutional developments in SWA over many years and the court accepted those events could have influenced the mental outlook of the accused.

"The events that gave rise to Swapo's armed struggle extend over many years and its effects have been widely spread," Mr Justice Bethune said.

He quoted from a speech made in the SWA National Assembly last December by a member of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Katutire Kaura, who said: "These are the causes of terrorism, these are the things which have caused terrorism and the chickens have simply come home to roost and South Africa has to bear the full consequences of its own making."

Mr Kaura was referring to policies of racial discrimination applied in the territory.

At the same time, Mr Justice Bethune said,

many restrictions embodied in statutory discrimination in SWA had been abolished long before the crimes had been committed.

Evidence led in mitigation said the International Court of Justice and the United Nations had ruled that South Africa's presence in SWA was illegal, and those views had been endorsed by a large section of the international community.

The convicted terrorists had in all probability judged their actions part of a "just struggle" enjoying considerable support both internally and externally.

Mr Justice Bethune said the court was not empowered to declare that the terrorists be treated as prisoners of war. But it had to take into consideration trends in international law when considering whether the death penalty should be imposed.

Authoritative evidence before the court was that the Geneva Convention excluded the execution of prisoners of war for military activities prior to their capture unless the activities amounted to war crimes, while inhabitants of SWA had special status.

Contraventions of the Terrorism Act carried a minimum sentence of five years. The

accused were quite young and had no previous convictions.

It could be readily accepted that after they had left SWA they had been caught in a web of circumstances over which they had little or no control.

"This situation, which has been of their own making to some extent, constitutes no justification for their actions but nevertheless

is a factor for consideration in punishment," the judge said.

At the same time, the accused had to foresee that the laying of land mines and sabotage to railway lines, for instance, could have killed or injured innocent people.

Sagarias had sustained a crippling leg wound, while Jason had an arm shot away. They were two years younger than Malambo and had to receive lesser sentences than Malambo.

"In view of indications by the defence that severe sentences will not deter Swapo members, no purpose will be served by suspending any portion of the sentences," Mr Justice Bethune said. — Sapa.

CSO: 4700/1368

KAURA VENTS SPLEEN AGAINST WESTERN 'FIVE'

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] DTA delegate Mr Katuutire Kaura unleashed another characteristic tirade of angry rhetoric on a wide range of issues in the National Assembly at the week's end on Fri-

Nujoma should be given work to clean toilets

day, during the Budget debate.

Known for his colourful and provocative public addresses, Mr Kaura this time became notably abusive towards some of his political rivals, describing Swanu as "schwein" (pig) and suggesting Swapo leader Sam Nujoma be given work to clean toilets.

Most of his speech was devoted to countering

Katjuongua must stop worshipping everything white

criticism of the Budget from the Christian Democratic Action for Social Justice (CDA) — the newly-formed party led by

Owambo Administration Chairman Peter Kalangula.

Mr Kaura said the budgeted allocation of funds to the Owambo people totalled a favourable R94m and described the CDA as a "Christian Disgrace Association".

CORRUPTION

Turning to the Damara Administration Mr Kaura called for the immediate arrest of its Chairman Mr Justus Garoëb and another leader Mr Simon Gobs, to answer for the "corruption in Damaraland".

He suggested that their passports be withdrawn before they could leave the country, and accused Mr Garoëb of "running to Swapo to save face".

Mr Kaura then addressed himself to the Western Five, saying: "We, the people of Namibia, who have endured untold hardships, who have grown up hungry in the country of our birth, who would like to shed the shackles of SA colonialism, are sick of your spinelessness, cowardice, indecision and your appeasement of Swapo and Russia. We are sick of your bloodstained détente."

His message to the African Frontline states was: "Feed the hungry in your own countries and

don't worry about us."

To Swapo Mr Kaura's message was, as he put it

Women should serve in the National Assembly

"very simple": "Swapo jysal bars (you will suffer).

"Just send us (Swapo leader) Sam Nujoma so that we can give him a job to clean the toilets," the DTA leader continued.

Countering Swanu leader Moses Katjuongua's criticisms of the

CDA is a 'Christian Disgrace Association'

ruling DTA, Mr Kaura said: "The DTA does not promote apartheid. It is the only organisation that does not only talk about abolishing apartheid, but which has a clear record of doing."

He also rebuked the Swanu leader for criticising the tribal courts in Namibia, saying "Mr Katjuongua must help to build out the judicial system of the Black man instead of worshipping everything white."

He described the Swanu leader as a typical "been-to" — a Black intellectual who has studied overseas and discarded all his traditional African values in the process.

DISLIKE

Referring to Mr Katjuongua as one of those, Mr Kaura said: "They develop a complete dislike for anything Black and worship anything White. No wonder Mr Katjuongua is worshipping the South African courts."

The Territory's judiciary was granted greater constitutional independence from the SA judiciary by an act of the National Assembly last year, after resorting directly under SA statutory rule since the start of civilian administration by the SA Government of the Territory, and during which time SA instituted a system of tribal courts.)

Mr Kaura also suggested that women should be nominated to serve in the National Assembly "to liven up the Chamber", and called for the allocation of special number plates for motor vehicles driven by members of the National Assembly.

CSO: 4700/1368

BEN AFRICA CLAIMS UN SCHEME IS BANKRUPT

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 4 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

THE UN and the Western Five were stumbling blocks to independence for the Territory, DTA Vice-President Dr Ben Africa said this week.

Speaking during the Budget debate in the National Assembly, Dr Africa said preparations for independence inside Namibia were receiving too little attention.

The delay of independence was working against democracy in the Territory, he said.

Turning to US Assistant Secretary of State Africa Affairs Dr Chester Crocker, Dr Africa said: "It is high time that Dr Crocker explains a few things to the DTA or he will not be trusted."

The Western Five had become another stumbling block to SWA's independence according to Dr Africa because instead of pressing for a settlement it was dancing to the tune of Swapo who was too scared to face the DTA in elections.

On the UN, Dr Africa said, "This is 1982 not 1945. The UN has shown by now what it can and what it cannot do. The

time has come for us not to take the UN too seriously.

"We must not regard the UN as a necessary condition for independence", he added.

Dr Africa went to say if the Western Five's settlement initiative

shipwrecked, only the greatest measure of internal unity amongst the people of the Territory should be strived for. Only the

DTA could ensure maximum internal unity, according to Dr Africa.

Dr Africa recalled a motion passed by the DTA in November 1980 calling on the AG to promulgate a Bill of fundamental human rights, a constitutional court to enforce it, and an independent ombudsman to take up complaints before the Court.

WHAT HAPPENED?

Addressing himself to the AG Mr Danie Hough, Dr Africa asked: "What happened to it?"

Most of the Territory's people had accepted the principle of equal social status based on merit alone, and much progress

had been made in this direction, added Dr Africa.

"But the goal has not been reached. There are stumbling blocks remaining on the way, but they are not insurmountable."

Preparations for independence should take special note of the building of a Namibia nationalism and the combatting of racism, he said.

He went on to say the SWA independence question had become over-internationalised. The UN did not stand much of a chance to solve the problem as long as it refused to drop its partiality towards Swapo and did not openly demonstrate this.

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL PROBLEMS FACING REGIME NOTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 18-19 May 82

[Article by Philippe Decraene: "Niger: the Time of Uncertainty"]

[18 May 82 p 6]

[Text] Part I: The Economic Morass

Mr Francois Mitterrand, who is paying his first official visit to sub-Saharan Africa, is expected Wednesday evening 19 May at Niamey on the first stage of a journey that will take him to Niger, the Ivory Coast and Senegal.

In a two-part article our special correspondent gives the current situation in the evolution of a country whose geographical position makes it a link between white and black Africa.

Niamey--Never in the 22 years since this territory of former French West Africa became independent has Niamey experienced such activity. Of course, the abundance of workplaces can be explained by the preparations being made for Mr Mitterrand's visit. Everywhere roads are being tarred, new ones are being opened, and seedy public buildings are being completed or modernized.

Under an investment program drawn up during the mining boom, when uranium ore was at its highest price, new administrative buildings were started, and some of them are near completion. For a long time Niamey looked like an immense village devoid of character, but now its face is suddenly changing. A style of architecture is emerging there, one that is in perfect harmony with the rugged beauty of the Sahel regions. Determinedly modernistic buildings stand everywhere, their forms bare and geometric, the ochre or sand-colored rough-cast siding reminiscent of the sober elegance of traditional construction.

Beyond this obvious feverish activity looms a time of uncertainty. Uranium is the main economic resource of the country, and its price has dropped considerably. Rain that is too rare, too little and badly distributed threatens once again to starve populations whose living standard is already very poor. And, finally, hopes for profitable oil discoveries seem to be fading.

Uranium at its Lowest

Niger is the fourth largest producer of uranium in the non-communist world after the United States, Canada and the South African Republic; all of Niger's ore comes from the Air region, in the eastern part of the country. It is a mountainous plateau that tops out at 2,000 meters elevation; the oases of Timia and Iferouane are two of the country's main tourist attractions. The plateau's mineral resources are still only very incompletely known.

There are two mining companies: the Air Mining Company, called Somair, which has been operating since 1971 and processed 2,200 tons of ore last year; and the Akouta Mining Company, or Cominak, which has been in operation since 1978 and processed 2,000 tons last year. In 1980 the Tassa n'Taghalgue Mining Company was formed, or SMTT. One-third of the capital has been underwritten by Kuwait. The company should produce 1,800 tons of ore beginning in 1985. Only the slumping market has kept the SMTT from going into operation so far. Start-up costs will take an investment of 200 billion francs CFA (1 franc CFA = Fr 0.02), for the initial projects, at least. President Seyni Kountche, head of state, told us that as a consequence an intermediate solution is being studied that would limit initial expenses for a workers' city; for the time being, the ore would be processed in Somair's installations.

Dr Anou Mahamane, a young economist who studied at Clermont-Ferrand and Aix and who is currently minister of Mines, refuses to yield to the pervasive gloom. However, he does admit that "The uranium market is likely to be sour till 1990, as far as we can see. Everything is related. The wealthy countries are going through a serious economic crisis. It was inevitable that we should feel the effects." The minister showed that for several years now the level of production has stayed pretty much the same while the selling price of the ore has varied greatly: 5,400 francs CFA a kilo in 1974; 24,500 fr CFA in 1979; 20,000 fr CFA in 1981; 24,000 fr CFA at present. He also explained that "The costs of production have increased considerably because of world inflation. When you take various costs and, especially, loan repayments into account, a kilo of ore costs more than 23,000 fr CFA to produce."

'Our Last Hope'

A European industrialist who knows the uranium market well says, "Nigerien ore has not been profitable for two years now because the cost of mining it is higher than the spot price, i.e. the price paid on the free market. Hence only the privileged prices agreed to by France and Japan make it possible to continue mining it." These statements err by omission on at least two points. A free market for uranium does not exist: most of the tonnage is sold at contracted prices for reasons having to do with the strategic nature of the ore. The present price of about 16,000 fr CFA a kilo is therefore purely theoretical. Also, new buyers have appeared: Libya, which is said to pay 26,000 fr CFA a kilo, and Iraq.

When the sale of Nigerien uranium to Libya is mentioned to him, President Seyni Kountche invariably answers, "We make a distinction between politics and trade."

For the time being, other mineral resources are still very limited. A factory has been in operation at Anou-Araren since April 1981 to treat the coal taken from the open-pit mine there; it supplies electricity to the town of Agadez and the uranium mines at Arlit and Akouta. When the second and final phase of construction is completed at the end of the year, Anou-Araren's total power output will reach 32 megawatts.

The production of about 100 tons of cassiterite a year, i.e. tin-bearing ore, is exported through Jos, Nigeria to Antwerp, but this is relatively negligible. Interesting calcium phosphate deposits have been discovered in the "W" wildlife preserve, but their geographical location is such a serious handicap that mining them remains a real problem. However, the minister of Mines seems optimistic and ready to get on with the task, saying: "We have to choose between development and ecology."

The gold nuggets panned in the Sirba River, which is a tributary of the Niger, are of interest mostly to tourists, who are attracted in increasing numbers by the sumptuous Saharan safaris in the Air region, the Tenere desert or Djado offered by various travel agencies. However these jaunts on camelback or, more frequently, by Land- or Range Rover are not likely to bring any real financial support to the national economy.

The Elf company has taken over from some U.S. companies that have left the country and is proceeding to check out some indications of sizeable oil reserves. Prospectors are working both in the Nguigmi region, near Chad, and in the area of Bilma, on the Djado plateau. "These are our last hopes," a government official told us, adding: "I am not optimistic, but we have seen worse, and I think there is no real reason to despair."

However, while mining revenue is declining, export crops are also decreasing, namely peanuts and cotton. Cotton production is subject to capricious rainfall and stricter growing requirements than food crops; it also produces a very inadequate income, which explains why cotton production is one-third what it was 10 years ago, amounting to scarcely 3 tons of seed cotton a year (a little more than 1,100 tons of fiber). Also, peanut production dropped from 205 tons in 1970 to 120 tons in 1981. Thus, the supply of local products to Nigerien peanut oil plants and textile mills has been running a heavy deficit.

Then there are goatskins, which exceed 1 billion fr CFA a year in export revenue. The French leather industry makes some of its suede clothing from the Maradi "red" goatskin.

The Treasury in Trouble

Lack of export products accounts for the government's financial difficulties. A government official told us, "In 1982 the National Investment Fund had practically no income, even though this agency was carefully set up so that income from uranium would go entirely toward capital equipment for the country and would not be swallowed up by operating expenses. Now things have come to a complete standstill."

Foreign debt has tripled in 3 years. Debt service charges have quadrupled in 4 years, and the state's debt must come to nearly one-fifth of the budget, which is 94 billion fr CFA. Public investment has consequently been reduced from 26 billion fr CFA in 1980 to 7 billion for 1982. The treasury used to have about 20 billion fr CFA in reserves, but this money has almost entirely disappeared while the state has contracted heavy debts to the private sector and to certain branches of the semi-public sector, for example, social security. At the same time, the foreign trade debt has worsened.

The government has taken economy measures by suspending some public works projects and delaying orders in the construction industry, and this has caused increased unemployment. Also, work on some large projects is temporarily suspended: the Tillabery sugar plant, the new cement works, the Kandadji dam, etc. The dam has some serious handicaps: the time it will take to be completed--10 years before it can hold water, the very high cost of investment--120 billion fr CFA as of 1 January 1982, and the large number of creditors involved. The Nigeriens are trying to get the Arabs interested in this project, e.g. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, as well as EEC states such as France and the FRG, many international organizations, and Canada and the United States.

The Drought Storms Back

Another contrast points up the fact that the food situation is alarming for most Nigeriens. While the region around Niamey seems relatively green because it recently received some rain, most of the eastern part of the country is again being ravaged by a terrible drought.

A technical assistant returning from Nguigmi told us, "Lake Chad used to flood the town's marketplace every year, but now it has receded more than 70 kilometers. There is no more plant life left for hundreds of kilometers around. Sandstorms have covered everything. Flocks are dying in their pasture as in 1972. There is still some water in the wells, but no forage is left. The animals drink, lie down and die."

A European expert recently returned from the pasture land where the local EEC delegation recently set up an emergency aid station confirms this report: "In the Tahoua region, large cattle have been moved south by the Peuhls herders. Only goats and sheep are scraping through at the moment and managing to survive." The average life expectancy is 37 years 9 months for men and 38 years 8 months for women. The fact that the general mortality rate is 27 percent and that 40 percent of live births die before the age of 5 is explained primarily by the chronic malnutrition and undernourishment of the poorest Nigeriens. They are decimated by chronic malaria, by cerebro-spinal meningitis, which kills hundreds of people every year, and by measles, which afflicts tens of thousands of children. Curiously, though, while the drought is worsening and bringing ever more patients into the hospitals, discontent is not rising among the rural masses or in the impoverished shantytowns on the outskirts of the cities; it is rising among certain privileged elements of the population who refuse to give up their privileges.

[Excerpts] Part II: A Regime on the Alert

In the first installment of this article (LE MONDE 18 May) our special correspondent told how Niger is in a period of economic stagnation as a consequence of the world crisis and persistent, unfavorable climatic conditions.

Niamey--"We are turning out graduates who will be unemployed. We have to take a more realistic look at our educational system and make it a truly public service," President Seyni Kountche told us. He also denounced those he called "privileged characters on the other side of the river." The head of state was showing his displeasure with students and alluding to the geographical location of a part of the university, on the right bank of the river beyond Kennedy bridge. It is easy to "shut down" by the forces of law and order if there is a threat of agitation.

For several weeks now--and this is not the first time--high school and grade school students and teachers have been spoiling for a fight. Arrests and brutality have been the consequence of their distributing tracts very hostile to the government, holding demonstrations and, especially, strikes. Speaking of strikes, the head of state is upset that they came "a few weeks before the baccalaureate exam," and told us, "We are going to have to take a look at academic freedom."

We got the same story from a European teacher who has remained outside the movement. He said, "They aren't young people in revolt but irresponsible ones egged on by some teachers and, sometimes, their parents. The head of state is embarrassed, because on the eve of a visit by the president of the French republic he does not want to be accused of presiding over a military regime that clamps down on young people whenever they make demands."

For some people, certainly the leaders, the country awards about 700 baccalaureate diplomas but cannot satisfy everybody, for obvious financial reasons. Moreover, many of the young people's demands do not meet national needs, it is said in governmental circles.

Since the military and the students have an equally strong hostility for one another, the confrontations between the youth and the regime cannot be taken lightly. The Bureau of Coordination and Liaison (BCL), a police arm specializing in infiltrating opposition groups, is particularly watchful and brutal. It has been paying special attention to the students of Issa Korombe national lycee, which has a long history of opposition. It has also been watching students in Zinder, Maradi and Agadez, who are not immune to oppositionist contagion.

Redoubled Vigilance

Police vigilance has redoubled especially in the last few weeks because the presidency intends to maintain the splendor of the festivities celebrating Mr Mitterrand's visit to Niamey. This vigilance is also motivated by the fact that some people are using students out of nostalgia for the regime of Mr Diouri Hamani, who was overthrown eight years ago in a putsch organized by the present president.

In his most recent press conference, Col Seyni Kountche singled out "ambitious people with bad intentions," and those people are too concerned with being effective to pass up seeking allies among the youth, even though the young people do often denounce the "unpatriotic Diori clique" in their tracts.

The memories of the parliamentary system are not yet completely gone. As time goes by, some people even tend to embellish them. True, all the spokesmen of the progressive party, the Nigerien section of the African Democratic Rally of Mr Houphouet-Boigny, have left the political scene, but their partisans have not put down their arms, and they have taken up the battle with help from abroad, it is said here.

The authorities say they intercepted a 15-man commando squad last April with 13 Malians. According to some sources, the men were planning to capture an arms depot in the Arlit region, sabotage industrial installations and take expatriates as hostages. The aura of mystery about this affair is encouraging speculation, none of which seems unlikely on the face of it. The head of state told us that as far as he was concerned he was convinced that the men were connected with one of the sons of the former president, Mr Abdoulaye Diori. The BCL has been following Mr Diori's moves between Tripoli, Kano, Abidjan, some European capitals and even, recently, Ndjamena, where he had been operating on occasion. "For two years now I have been planning to set his father free, because he is still under house arrest in Niamey, but how can I decide to do that in a situation like this?" Col Seyni Kountche told us.

This climate might hamper starting up a development company, "a structure that is unique to Niger, one that has no reference to a foreign model and is intended to set itself up as a constituent assembly at the proper time," according to Mr Barmou Salaou, the permanent secretary of the development company's commission. Niger has had no National Assembly for eight years, the constitution is suspended and parties are outlawed, but some kind of return to democracy is planned through the future Development Company. Elections will be held in five stages: the people elect village councils (6-16 members); the councils elect local councils (20-30 members); the local councils elect subregional councils (12-30 members), which elect regional councils (16-30 members); the regional councils, finally, elect the National Council of the Development Company.

No date has been set for these elections; things are still at the village council stage. True, there are more than 9,000 of them. For the moment, the executive power is not in the hands of the people but of the head of state and the Supreme Military Council. Not even the present number of members of the Supreme Military Council is known. (There were originally 12, at the time of the putsch in April 1974.)

A return to a regime of political parties is even less likely because a real foreign menace seems to be weighing on the political stability of the country; it has immensely long borders (more than 5,000 km) that defy effective surveillance. Actually, it is even possible that the various origins of the foreign threats may cause them to neutralize each other. Libya is not about to let Algeria move into Niamey, and Nigeria is afraid that a preponderant influence other than its own might emerge in Niger.

Franco-Nigerien relations are exemplary in their harmony, and they must be kept distinct from the recall of the ambassador and tensions within the 6,000-person French community in Niger. The reasons are still obscure for the sudden recall to Paris of Mr Pierret, a few days before the arrival of the president of the Republic, and the affair is still causing the most contradictory remarks to be made.

"The Language of Truth"

The Nigerien president has received a favorable impression of the French head of state; he was the second sub-Saharan head of state to pay a visit, after Ivorian President Houphouet-Boigny, last July. Col Seyni Kountche appreciates the fact that Niger is the first sub-Saharan country to be visited by Mr Mitterrand, and he makes no secret of his satisfaction on this score to anyone who will listen. He was worried after the 10 May election but very quickly understood that the new majority in France would not call the Nigerien regime into question and would deal with it without ulterior motives.

Mr Jean-Pierre Cot's visit to Niamey in March was a success. His Nigerien counterparts say they found him to be understanding and friendly. They considered it fortunate that the new minister of Cooperation was ready to increase aid to Nigerien agriculture and gave priority to nationally managed development and the quest for food self-sufficiency.

"Mr Francois Mitterrand speaks the language of truth to us. It is time Africans realize that no power in the world gives you something for nothing. We have to keep in mind that solidarity is not gratuitous," a high Nigerien official told us. He added, "People have to stop helping us just make ends meet on our budget and start giving us the means for real development."

French cooperation personnel has been stable for several years. The actual number varies from 390 to 400 people, nearly three-fourths of whom are teachers. For 1981, France granted aid in the general amount of 21 billion fr CFA, 13 billion of which was in loans from the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation. Of the 9 billion fr CFA in aid from the ministry of Cooperation, personnel salaries come to about 5 billion fr CFA.

Nevertheless, here as in many other countries of French-speaking Africa, France is still the main provider of bilateral aid. In the period 1960-81, some 340 billion fr CFA were given to Niger in bilateral aid, and 190 billion (36 percent) was for multilateral aid. Second in line after France comes the EEC, followed by the FRG and the World Bank; next are the Arab countries (14 percent of total aid).

Obviously, people in Niamey expect a lot more from France. Thus, a Nigerien university official told us with some disappointment, "It's all very nice to conclude the deal of the century with Algeria to buy its gas. But you see, we here would have been happy with a tenth of what you have given the Algerians, who do have economic advantages far superior to ours. Sub-Saharan Africa is liable to waste away on such a burst of generosity."

ISRAEL'S RELATIONS WITH VARIOUS AFRICAN COUNTRIES DISCUSSED

Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 21 May 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Israel, the Arabs and Africa"]

[Text]

ZAIRE's decision to re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel should not surprise anyone. It is the delay in announcing it which should. There have been calls all over the continent, not the least in this country for African countries to resume diplomatic links with Israel. The Israelis have themselves been very busy courting favour furtively in "vulnerable" countries such as Ivory Coast, Zaire and Ghana.

The rupture in diplomatic ties between African countries and Israel began in 1972 with the decision by Guinea to sever links with Israel. Relations with Israel further deteriorated when during the October 1973 War, Israel occupied Egyptian land, which, as former President Senghor of Senegal put it, was an "illegal occupation of territory which is incontestably African." Before that unprecedented show of solidarity with the Arabs, most African countries had tried to maintain an even keel between both parties to the Middle East imbroglio. In 1969, an Organisation of African Unity Peace Mission was sent to Tel Aviv and Cairo during which the Israelis merely lectured the mediators and snubbed our head of state, who was a member of the mission.

The crucial question now is whether Zaire's decision is going to have a "bandwagon effect", that is, whether those vulnerable countries, and there are quite a few, will follow Mobutu's footsteps. Right now there are about three categories of countries. In the first category are the leftist regimes (Ethiopia, Congo Brazzaville, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, etc.) who will not renew ties with Israel because of her strong links with American imperialism and South African colonialism. Secondly, there are the countries with very large number of Muslims who will abhor contacts with Israel on grounds of Islamic solidarity.

The third category are the "vulnerables" who would for reasons of residual domestic sympathy for Israel and/or disenchantment with the policies of some Arab states resume diplomatic ties with Israel. Rather unfortunately, we seem to straddle all the categories, though our government is hardly leftist. But we must be very careful. Our best allies in the struggle against racism and colonialism are probably Algeria and to lesser extent Libya. We would definitely lose more in our long term pursuits if the Federal Government is pushed to resuming relations with Israel. Even for the short term, it is in our own interest to maintain cordial ties with the

oil-rich Arab states who have been helping us put up a brave front in the wake of the onslaught on oil producers by the West. There are no compelling reasons for us to re-establish ties with Israel.

CSO: 4700/1376

BRIEFS

BACKGROUND ON ISRAELI RELATIONS--A motion for Nigeria to normalise diplomatic relations with Israel had been tabled before the House of Representatives. The motion jointly sponsored by 106 legislators sought among other things, that Nigeria should renew, re-establish and seek normal diplomatic, consular trade and cultural relations as well as technical co-operation with Israel at ambassadorial level. It also sought to appeal to President Shehu Shagari to do everything within his power to persuade all the other OAU member-states that share Nigeria's point of view to normalise relations with Israel at their earliest convenience. However, when the motion was moved, some members protested that their names were included in it without their consent. At this juncture, Speaker Edwin Ume-Ezeoke ruled that the motion be suspended and referred it to the House Committee on Rules and Business to ascertain signatories to the motion. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 21 May 82 pp 1, 9]

CSO: 4700/1376

AJ/MRDN WILL NOT TAKE PART IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 18 May 82 p 2

[Article by Momar Seyni Ndiaye]

[Text] The And Jef/Revolutionary New Democracy Movement (AJ/MRDN) will not nominate a candidate for the 1983 presidential elections. This is one of the main decisions made by the first legal congress of this organization, which began Saturday and ended yesterday morning at the El Mansour Cinema in Dakar. The 523 participants in the congress also recommended to the leading party levels that a "vast debate" be initiated to inform the base levels about the import of the legislative and municipal elections next year. The congress also deemed it necessary to take the opportunity offered by the electoral campaign to popularize and publicize the AJ/MRDN line.

The decision not to take part in the presidential elections in 1983, according to the report dealing with this matter, is explained by the "anti-electoralism" of the movement and the "antidemocratic nature" of the new electoral code. The AJ/MRDN "rejects the exclusion of the opposition parties in the drafting of the code." The congress then went on to deplore certain positions, in particular the principle of guarantee, optional use of the polling booths, the mixed nature of the ballot, the rejection of allowing emigres to vote, the lack of control by the voters over the work of those elected, and discrimination among the parties in the use of ORTS [Senegal Radio and Television Office] time during the electoral campaign.

Because of all of this, the congress determined that "only the organized masses are capable of carrying through the democratic and popular national revolution, the transition towards socialism," and that it is "necessary to combat all illusions" on this subject. On the question of unity, the congress asked the board of officers "to launch discussions immediately with the PPS [Senegalese Popular Party]" with the view to achieving unity as proposed by the secretary general of that party, and "to adopt decisions to determine the differences between the AJ/MRDN and the UDP [Union for People's Democracy]".

With regard to the RND [Democratic National Rally] and the MDP [People's Democratic Movement], "the congress recommends the maintenance of dynamic relations." In connection with international policy, the congress denounced "the annexationist policy of Senegal in Gambia," recommended the "recognition of the

Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (SDAR)," and confirmed its "proletarian internationalism." On the other hand, the participants in the congress expect a determination to combat "French imperialism" in order to remain faithful to the "tradition of struggle of the Senegalese people initiated by Alinn Sitoye Jatta and Lamine Senghor."

At the conclusion of the congress, a general council of 125 members was elected, and the National Executive Committee (CEN), which previously had 25 members, was expanded to 42, with a heavy percentage of workers, peasants, and women. This increase in the number of CEN members corresponds to the extension of the base of the movement. The women's commission established is, for its part, to study the status of women, eventually to convoke an And Jef National Women's Conference, and to create a National Women's Movement. The youth commission which has worked in the field for some years is also to stress its efforts in the various sectors of youth and sports activities, such as the Sport and Progress Movement.

It should also be noted that an investigation and study commission will assess the needs of the masses and their concerns. Its duty will above all be to penetrate the various social strata and classes in Senegal with a view to their integration in the revolutionary process. Following the work of the congress, the delegates organized a march from El Mansour Cinema to the headquarters of the Gibraltar Movement. We talked with Mr. Landing Savane, who expressed a view that the holding of this congress "is proof that only perseverance pays off. We have struggled tirelessly for 14 years, and we will continue to struggle until the RNDP [Democratic National Rally Party], the transition towards socialism triumphs."

Permanent Bureau

Secretary General--Landing Savane; General Secretary--Alioune Sene and Mamadou Diop Decroix; Political Secretary--Amadou Top; Workers and Trade Union Members Secretary--Bocar Ndiaye; Investigation and Studies Secretary--Abdoulay Ly; Peasant Movement Secretary--Abdoulaye Bakhoun; Propaganda and Agitation Secretary--Mamadou Diouck; Training and Legal Affairs Secretary--Abdoulave Gueve; Economic Affairs Secretary--Mazide Ndiaye; Organization Secretary--Thierno Kane; Women's Affairs Secretary--Fatou Kane; Youth Secretary--Joe Diop; Immigration Secretary--Aziz Dieng.

5157

CSO: 4719/1007

INDIAN OFFER OF EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE REPORTED

Victoria NATION in English 19 May 82 p 1

[Text] AS Seychelles strives towards self-sufficiency in manpower, India has opened its educational doors as much to Seychellois medical students as to other professions, Health Minister Karl St. Ange said yesterday.

Mr. St. Ange was speaking to Seychelles Agence Presse after what he called "very fruitful" visits to France, Switzerland and India. The Minister returned from India last Sunday.

Meeting in New Delhi with the Indian Assistant Minister for Health, Mr. St Ange discussed future bilateral co-operation and was told that Seychelles was welcome to send medical and other students for training in India.

In New Delhi, the Seychellois Minister also visited a rehabilitation centre and discussed possible Indian assistance in this field should it be needed.

Next, in Bombay, Mr. St. Ange visited another large in-

stitute for the handicapped and was "astonished" by the extent and sophistication of treatment and rehabilitation available.

He was especially impressed to see many of the disabled patients actually working in the institute, producing equipment to help the handicapped along in their daily lives.

In fact, Mr. St. Ange said, he saw no reason why serious Seychellois casts in general could not be sent to India for certain advanced treatment rather than to much more expensive destinations in Europe for example.

He also believed, after visiting a medicine factory, that Seychelles should look into buying some drugs from India at cheaper prices, especially since some Indian medicine were exported to Europe.

Minister St. Ange's long trip started in Paris where 125 delegates from 24 countries benefiting from French medi-

cal assistance met on April 29 and 30.

The meeting, organised by French Co-operation Minister Jean-Pierre Cot and Health Minister Jack Ralite, was held in the Hotel Concorde-Lafayette.

Mr. St. Ange described the meeting as being very cordial, simple and open with an interesting exchange of views and experiences.

He said the two hosts were sympathetic to the problems brought up by those taking part and assured their guests that France would continue such co-operation.

SAP

CSO: 4700/1371

TOURISM PLAN AIMS AT SALVAGING DEPRESSED INDUSTRY

Victoria NATION in English 20 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] "WE can, and will, be as ruthless and as professional as everyone else". In a "do or die" tone yesterday morning new Seychelles Tourism Director John Enright announced an aggressive revival of Seychelles as the most favoured tourist destination of the world tourist and travel trade.

Addressing Seychelles People's Progressive Front and Government leaders and local and foreign representatives of Seychelles tourism in the Reef Hotel conference room, Mr. Enright started out gloomily setting alarm bells ringing before confidently presenting a 23-point plan aimed at reversing a steepening downward trend that was gathering momentum in a "plummet into the earth".

This was the new Seychelles Tourist Board's (STB) first analysis of the ailments of Seychelles tourism and the national and international strategy needed to cure these.

Among the recuperative steps being taken, the STB

and the private sectors had together achieved an average decrease of 27.6 per cent in Seychelles tourism prices, or, in other words, the costs to a tourist visiting Seychelles.

In its contribution, the Government was expected to agree to passenger service fees being halved for adults in January 1983 and abolished for children.

But this was not how the Director of Tourism started out.

He introduced his analysis on quite an opposite note: "Tourism, which provides the major percentage of our gross national product, is in the most serious decline of any country in the world".

Using graph charts to show the gravity of the situation, Mr. Enright said that if Seychelles received 38,000 visitors this year, "it will be luck".

This is the worst figure since 1975 when there were 37,321 visitors. The peak was 78,852 in 1979.

Emphasising repeatedly that Seychelles could not afford such a decline if the tourism industry was to survive, Mr. Enright pinpointed a past lack of control over an initial tourist boom as the main reason for this.

Falling standards, wrong attitudes, mediocre food, high prices, high airline fares, revaluation, the abortive mercenary invasion — all had been blamed but these, claimed Mr. Enright, were an offshoot of the real problem.

"Private enterprise and tour operators abroad used Seychelles for profitability.

"Seychelles, on the other hand, let the private sector, the tour operators abroad and the travel industry as a whole use it the way they wanted to".

Meanwhile, Mr. Enright said, the competition in Mauritius, the Maldives, Hong Kong and other places were pulling out all the stops to overcome Seychelles' challenge.

Seychelles' tourist industry lost control and became fragmented in a "heartless" and "vicious" industry where if a product was not up to standard, the tourist could freely make another choice.

The ironic thing was that Seychelles had the best product by far in the Indian Ocean, but it had never been

identified for its own interests.

Nevertheless, with the STB spearheading the battle for revival and the country dictating its own tourism philosophy and controlling the balance of its tourism requirements through a co-ordinated plan, Mr. Enright was confident that Seychelles would begin to climb back to the top of the highly competitive tourism ladder by 1984.

This would be done by regaining the confidence of all concerned locally and internationally, especially in the tourist markets, while controlling the industry in Seychelles so that it would not "eat into" the country's culture and quality of life.

"Tourism is a disease which can erode the very basis of your upbringing", he warned.

SAP

A Tourist Board for a Balanced Industry

THE SEYCHELLES Tourist Board, with the full backing of President Albert René, who is also the Tourism Minister, has been set up to tackle the country's very serious tourism problems professionally and internationally. Mr. John Enright the Director of Tourism said.

There was close communication with the President through the Principal Secretary for Finance and Industry, he said, to ensure that the

STR would operate according to the country's philosophy guidelines.

Several departments had been set up to deal with the various sectors of the industry such as marketing, the development of tourist attractions, trade and visitor services, research and statistics, and licencing and control.

An advisory Board of Directors to be set up soon would, in future, direct the country's tourism policy.

A Seychelles News Bureau was being organised to present an attractive image through the media, especially the travel press.

The Bureau would provide the world press with up-to-date tourism information from Seychelles, encourage travel journalists to visit the islands and involve itself in marketing by penetrating the market, through the media, to create credibility.

Presenting a 23-point recovery plan, Mr. Enright said that tourist offices in London, Frankfurt and Milan would be strengthened.

At present, visitor arrivals from the United Kingdom are down 51 per cent on last year, West Germany is down 45 per cent, and Italy, the No. 1 market, is down 48 per cent.

The tourist office in Paris will be re-opened. France is currently Seychelles' second

major source of tourists but figures are down 27 per cent on last year.

A director will be appointed to co-ordinate the European offices.

There will be a secondary markets promotional drive, especially in Japan, whose figures are up 41 per cent on last year.

"We need to expose Seychelles to every conceivable market we can find and on a policy of balanced tourism I think we can control any kind of market." Mr. Enright said.

An advertising agent in London, Parks Advertising, has been engaged to work out a new image and style of promotional approach in a major trade and consumer advertising campaign that is expected to start in August.

Backing up this, the STB intends to go on a major European promotion tour in October.

Co-operative trade advertising and promotion campaigns will be organised with major foreign tour operators.

A co-ordinated plan for familiarisation visits to Seychelles by journalists and travel agents will be drawn up to show the product in the best light.

Seychelles will participate in such major world and European travel trade exhibi-

tions as Berlin's ITB and the World Travel Market.

The STB itself is, through its advertising agency, putting out new, highly attractive publicity material.

A craft and cultural village is being set up both as a major tourist attraction and to counter the bad effects of the trade on national culture and social values.

"The manner in which we expose Seychelles to tourism is vital", said the Tourism Director. "The craft village will be one of the most important vehicles to create the right balance on all sides."

The STB will also work closely with all the associations representing the different sectors of the industry in Seychelles, especially the Hotel Association, the Restaurant Association and the Small Hotels and Guesthouses Association.

A more personal approach to tourism accommodation will be encouraged through the small hotels and guesthouses.

Seychelles, not the tour operators and the hotels as in the past, will define high and low tourist seasons so as to set proper rates and combat accusations of high prices.

However, giving value for money, the Director of Tourism said, was not a question of what the product cost, but a question of the quality and the variety of the product.

"The Seychelles Tourist Board cannot and should not, in view of the fact that it is spending public money, to promote tourism, leave any stone unturned where it can go into the market and secure business".

There was no compromise, Mr. Enright stressed, especially if the resources and administrative and promotional abilities existed.

It was thanks to the Government, he said, that such abilities existed as it was the Government that was providing the necessary funds to make Seychelles the No. 1 destination of tourists in the world.

As part of yesterday morning's presentation of Seychelles' aggressive new tourism strategy, the Chairman of the Seychelles News Bureau, Mr. Garth Davies and two Directors of Parks Advertising, Mr. Peter Lough and Mr. Tony Harirs, used slide and video shows to explain their respective approaches to the problems.

Mr. Davies explained how the Bureau would keep contact with the major media, especially the travel media, in the tourist markets and would supply them with a flood of information from Seychelles.

The Parks Advertising representatives presented Seychelles' new and eye-catching tourism logo and showed

examples of highly colourful brochures, posters, stickers, stationary, labels and other publicity material and ideas they would be producing for the advertising campaign.

Until Friday, representatives of the local and overseas staff involved in promoting or administering Seychelles tourism will go on meeting to discuss and put the finishing touches to the new strategy presented yesterday.

SAP

CSO: 4700/1371

SEYCHELLES

BRIEFS

SPPR-FRENCH TIES--The Seychelles People's Progressive Front and the French Socialist Party are to keep in closer contact following a three-day visit to Paris by SPPF Secretary General Buy Sinon. Mr. Sinon, who returned to Seychelles on Sunday, told Seychelles Agence Presse that he was very satisfied with his talks with leaders of the ruling French party and with the convergence of views that emerged. Among the subjects discussed was the Indian Ocean. The Front Secretary-General also held two days of fruitful talks with Senior officials of the African section of the French Co-operation Ministry. Before going to Paris, Mr. Sinon met with the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Sridath Ramphal, in London. After Mr. Ramphal agreed to the Commonwealth Secretariat sending an adviser to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security in Seychelles, Mr. Sinon had more talks on the matter with other Commonwealth officials. SAP [Text] [Victoria NATION in English 18 May 82 p 1]

CSO: 4700/1371

PASSAGE OF PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL'S PROPOSALS WILL BE DIFFICULT

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 12 May 82 p 14

[Article by Dawie from his "Out of my Political Pen" Column: "The Deciding Test Is Here for Builders and Destroyers"]

[Text] The Presidential Council is engaged in bringing about a fundamental reorientation in South African politics. Its proposals about a new order have been tabled as of today, but it appears already clear that this can become a litmus paper test in our politics.

Every school child knows about the litmus test in the science class. That little piece of paper which turns red when acid is poured on it, turns blue again when immersed into an alkali. The Presidential Council's proposals will be just like a litmus test for the builders and the destroyers in South African politics.

Those to the far right have, of course, already shown their color.

The Reconstitutes stand for unwatered-down superiority. Their policy of hate has gotten stuck on the Mauri rugby players and since then it has not moved a step.

So to speak, they have on their side the Conservative Party of the Treurnicht group which simply refuses to accept the consequences of the Nationalist Party's 1977 proposals which, at that time, they were also supporting. They are also clinging tenaciously to a past which is irrevocably gone.

To the left we have the progressives. Their leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, is treading water with verbose statements and long interviews which are demonstrating the pressures to which he is being subjected from the two wings of his party: the moderates and the radical leftists.

The abysmal mistake he made in boycotting the Presidential Council from the very start is getting back at him again. This appears all the more clear by the extent of the pleas being made, from unexpected coloreds circles, that the prime minister's reform initiatives must be supported.

Notice too with what condemnation the Progressives' stories about "sham reforms" are being rebutted by certain colored leaders. They are noticing why foremost Progressives are evidently blind; that radical rightwing opposition has been carried on to a breaking point exactly because real reform is on the way!

Moreover, it is obvious that among many coloreds there is a healthy sobriety about Progressive stories to the effect that no reform is possible without "participation of the black majority."

This lopsided reasoning overlooks a couple of important facts:

First of all, at the moment the coloreds do not have any political rights. The rights of urban blacks are going to be expanded, within the greater whole, while millions of black people in the self-governing national states already have effective rights and they are exercising them.

Did they wait for the coloreds to grasp these rights with both hands and to exercise them? Do not believe that.

Among many of the coloreds there is a strong feeling that whatever proposals by the Presidential Council are accepted by the government it will behoove colored leaders to snatch them up, so that they will no longer be regarded as the country's stepchildren.

The approach of using whatever you can get to advance further later on, is evidently causing many problems for radicals...even those in the Progressive Party.

All or Nothing

The Progressives' intolerant leftist radicals have an all or nothing approach which has a following among black radicals who will not be satisfied with anything less than a black majority government.

Another irony is that the far left and the far right radicals could, after all, be finding themselves in the same camp, as has happened in politics before.

It is just possible that the Progressive Party's Suzmans and Boraines will fight as hard against the Presidential Council's proposals and the government's reaction to them as Dr A. P. Treurnicht (with people like those destroyers in the Afrikaner Resistance Movement who cling to him) will be doing.

From House to House

Standing in first place against these forces is the Nationalist Party, a party which must go forward under difficult circumstances. It is again taking the lead in its classic role of renewal and courageous approach.

Its reaction to the Presidential Council's proposals will be a determining factor in leading the country to a new order, away from a status quo which simply does not comply with the requirements of Christian justice and does not take into account the unavoidable realities of the country.

Realistic leaders of all population groups must continue to carry the message that the art of reconciling the unavoidable with the possible rests with politics.

The attempts on the part of the destroyers, which can lead only to chaos and conflict, must be halted for the sake of a better South Africa. In white politics this can only be done by the Nationalist Party which must carry its message from door to door throughout the entire country... against attempts at delay and obstructionism no matter what new low levels they reach.

7964

CSO: 4701/65

EVENTUAL ESTABLISHMENT OF BLACK GOVERNMENT PREDICTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 82 p 8

[Text]

ALTHOUGH most White South Africans did not share the view, it seems to be accepted by most people that eventually South Africa will have a Black Government, according to an economic report entitled "South Africa: Business Prospects re-assessed," released in Johannesburg yesterday.

The report was compiled by Simson-Freer, South African representatives of the Economist Intelligence Unit, London.

It says: "Whites are not prepared to give up their own culture and traditions and developments in some other African countries since independence have suggested to them that they would have to do so.

"The solution being attempted is to give political self-determination in separate geographical areas with economic co-operation and interdependence and with multi-racial sharing of deci-

sion-taking over matters of common concern.

"The devolution of authority that has already occurred is substantial. The endurance of this system would seem to depend, however, on the rate of economic growth."

The report says it is not surprising if most Blacks at this stage see the prospect of any Black Government being better than any White Government.

The argument that Blacks want control of their own destiny, rather than a more comfortable form of bondage, indicates a willingness to accept some economic sacrifice for the political goal.

"However, conditions are improving, both politically and economically. The sacrifice is thus also potentially larger as time goes by.

"People have been predicting a Black Government 'soon' since the decolonisation process

in Africa began two decades ago, but the time horizon keeps shifting further into the future.

"At the time of writing, there was no indication whatsoever that a Black Government was probable in the near future."

The report says the thinking of Black political leaders is, to a large extent, unknown because there is little published policy discussion "and many of the Black leaders are in enforced or self-imposed exile or in jail."

Those leaders that are "visible," namely, the chief political figures in the national states, are frequently denounced as "puppets" of the White Government.

After a changeover to Black Government, whatever its policy, it seems probable that a large number of Whites would remain in South Africa. Some would stay because they had no choice — Sapa.

CSO: 4700/1366

WAY OPENED FOR BLACK 'EQUAL STATUS'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text] **THE Black Local Authorities Bill now before Parliament opens the way for urban Blacks in South Africa to reach "equal status" regarding the management of their own urban affairs, as opposed to that of Whites, and to that which Coloureds and Asians will get once the President's Council recommendations have been instituted.**

Commenting on the Bill Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, told The Citizen: "All channels have now been opened for the urban Black to reach equal status with other races on the third level of government in South Africa."

He pointed out that this Bill would not only give urban Blacks the fullest possible rights to govern their own affairs but would in fact provide them with a channel to air their views in a future umbrella confederal system as well as to a Black council which

could in future be consulted by the President's Council.

Dr Koornhof stressed that this Bill, which was the result of years of inquiries by various commissions, and which was before Parliament earlier this year before it was referred to a select committee, "in fact fully accommodates the South African urban Black into the country's constitutional system".

The Bill repeals about 70 Acts and regulations which affect urban Blacks, including the extremely controversial Urban Areas Act of 1960.

The new Bill will give urban Blacks viable local management structures with full autonomy on the third level of government.

It also gives the Black urban management committees the right of landownership, whereas they have until now had only 99-year leasehold ownership.

Black residents themselves, however, do not get landownership. The argument is that Black local authorities are part of the South African constitutional land system and should therefore have the right to own land.

Dr Koornhof said the principle underlying this legislation was the belief that the inhabitants of a city, town or village should have the right to control and manage their own af-

fairs at local level through elected representatives. The implementation of this principle required that meaningful powers should be conferred on local government. It was the belief that further significant powers should now be conferred on Black local authorities.

A valid criterion to determine whether the new dispensation structuring Black local government is autonomous is to see whether the powers conferred are the same or substantially the same as those conferred on White local government.

It is also fundamental that the powers thus conferred should emanate from and be conferred by Parliament itself and that these powers should not be subject to arbitrary abrogation or curtailment. It has accordingly been decided to incorporate these powers in the Bill itself and that legal provision be made for the extension of these powers.

In order to ensure good and orderly government, however, it is essential that residual power should vest in an authority. In the case of White local government, that authority is vested in the administrator. In the case of Black local government that authority is vested in the Minister.

The circumstances in which these residual powers are to be exercised are, however, strictly circumscribed. It is commensurate with the powers of an Administrator to act in special circumstances.

CABINET'S INTERPRETATION OF PC'S RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text] **THE** full caucus of the National Party, which includes all its MPs and MPCs, this weekend adopted the Cabinet's interpretation of the President's Councils recommendations on a constitution for Whites, Coloureds and Asians.

The sole dissenting vote came from Mr Ferdi van Heerden, MP for De Aar ... who will today become the 18th member of the Conservative Party in Parliament.

The broad guidelines of the Cabinet put before the caucus, held in the Cape Town Civic Centre, apparently included the following political directives:

- The office of Prime Minister will disappear and his powers will be vested in the future Executive State President to be elected next year;

Powers

- The Executive President will chair the future mixed Cabinet;

- Junior Cabinet Ministers, with an apparent higher status, will replace the present deputy Cabinet Ministers;

- The mixed President's Council will be enlarged and given arbitratory powers in order to advise the Executive President on matters of conflict between the White, Coloured and Asian chambers of the legislature;

Target dates

- The President's Council will be partly elected by the three ethnic chambers on a proportional basis and partly-appointed by the Executive State President;

- The Coloured and Asian chambers could be instituted as early as 1983 and the entire envisaged adaptation of the Constitution completed by late 1984;

- The Cabinet has rejected the President's Council's separation of powers between the legislative and the executive and Cabinet Ministers can retain their seats as MPs and attend their respective ethnic caucus.

Cabinet Ministers can be appointed from outside the legislative body and they will have the right to attend any of the three chambers, namely the White

chamber (which will apparently be the present main chamber of the Assembly), the Coloured chamber or the Asian chamber.

Vote proviso

But only a White Cabinet Minister, who is also an elected MP,

can vote in the White chamber. This applies similarly to Coloured and Asian ministers in their own chambers.

Cabinet members of the three ethnic chambers will also be able to attend their respective caucus and be able to vote there.

A second session of Parliament later this year in order to elect an Executive State President is apparently out.

It now appears that the first such President will only be elected next year after the establishment of the Coloured and Asian chambers so that they may have a joint say in the matter.

Levels

All indications now are that the Government is eager to settle the initial, or central, level of Government first in order to occupy the Coloured and Asian

chambers of the legislative body and immediately thereafter launch its plans to accommodate the President's Council's recommendations on the third, or local level, of Government.

The second, or provincial, level of Government will only be adapted or phased out after further consultation with MPs and especially MPCs and only after the introduction of the new plans on first and third levels.

Dropped

The argument is, apparently, that the accommodation of Coloureds and Asians on the first and third levels, will automatically

lead to an acceptable solution, in time to come, on the second or provincial level.

What is also, apparently, now dropped is a referendum or referendum on the President's Council's proposals mainly because they are so close to the 1977 constitutional proposals which were already, at the time, on issue at a general election.

Saturday's meeting was a confidential caucus meeting and MPs won't be able to reveal to voters details given to them until after the federal congress to be held in Bloemfontein on July 30 and 31.

It is expected that delegates to the federal congress will be supplied in writing with the Government's guidelines on a new constitution, as they were put before the caucus this weekend, shortly before the federal congress.

But those guidelines might also have slightly more detail in order to

give delegates the opportunity to prepare themselves for an in-depth debate on the whole constitutional issue.

The President's Council has recommended that the Executive President should be elected for a seven-year term.

Office term

But indications are now that the Government favours a term only slightly longer than the five-year elected period of the legislature. This will give the President the opportunity, not only to overlap slightly the legislature's term of office, but also to allow

the newly elected legislature to elect a new Executive President at the earliest possible opportunity after a General Election.

The President's Council proposed that the Executive President should elect his own Prime Minister and—in consultation with him—the Cabinet. But it now appears that there will be no prime minister and that the President will chair the mixed Cabinet.

Options

The political adaptation of the third level of Government, which is likely to be changed soon after the first level next year, apparently still contains most of the options as suggested by the President's Council.

The Government is apparently in favour of the recommended options for the time being, including separate municipalities for Whites, Coloureds and Asians and where applicable, the formation of own local management committees by ethnic

groups in cases where they cannot form separate municipalities.

In the latter case, the chairman of such management committee, should he, for example, be a Coloured, can sit in on a White town or city council meeting especially when matters concerning the Coloured management committee's interests are at stake.

Another option is that White and Coloured management committees of adjoining White and Coloured areas, or of the same area, can hold joint meetings in order to reach consensus on matters of mutual concern before their respective town or city councils decide on them.

A further option is to allow White and Coloured or Asian management committees to attend White town or city council meetings, but without a vote, when matters of mutual concern are under discussion.

Another option which also remains is the President Councils

recommended ward system, which in fact boils down to fully mixed municipalities consisting of a number of White and Coloured wards, each of which would elect its own councillors to a single town or city council.

The Cabinet can definitely be mixed and Deputy Ministers will probably get the status of Junior Ministers in order to get away from the present impression that they are only appendages to their Ministers.

The granting of arbitrary powers to the President's council and the election of some of its members will give higher status and powers to its chairmen and to its committees.

The President's Council will have the right not only to play the role of arbitrator in matters of conflict between the three chambers of the new legislature, but will also have the right to consider the impeachment of the Executive State President and of Cabinet Ministers.

STRUGGLER FOR COLOURED FRANCHISE INTERVIEWED

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English Jun 82 pp 10-11

[Interview of Louis Kane-Berman by John Kane-Berman: "The Torch Commando--The Wheel Turns Full Circle"]

[Text] The present crisis over "healthy power-sharing" with the so-called "coloured" people is but a ripple compared with the turmoil which shook the country in the early 1950s when the Nats started plotting to throw them off the common voters' roll. In the thick of the fight to protect the "coloured" franchise was Louis Kane-Berman, national chairman of the War Veterans' Torch Commando.

Kane-Berman recalls those days in an interview with his son, journalist

John Kane-Berman:

How did the Torch originate?

A few of us formed a committee of ex-servicemen to protect United Party political meetings, which all over the country were being broken up by Nationalists. Then there was talk of government plans to remove the Cape coloured people from the common roll, and we found we had the nucleus of an organisation to protect the Constitution and the rights of the coloured people.

What did you do?

We all knew each other from the war, and we began by posting people on all the street corners in Johannesburg to hand out "route forms" of the type used in the Army, calling on the public to converge for a protest meeting on the city hall from four gathering-points north, south, west and east of the city. There was a spontaneous reaction throughout the country, especially among ex-servicemen. People came, between 30 000 and 60 000 of them, carrying 10 000 flaming torches in tin cans, which the Afrikaans press called "blikfakkels". To us they were torches of freedom.

Why were ex-servicemen particularly concerned?

We had fought for certain fundamental freedoms, which we now thought we saw

being undermined in this country. Also, ex-servicemen regarded the coloured people as having made a significant contribution during the war. They fought in the Desert and in Italy, as volunteers.

Why did the government want to throw them off the common roll?

For one reason, and for one reason only. There were, I think, six marginal seats, and the coloured people would not support the Nationalists. So they removed them as a step towards entrenching themselves in power.

What was the government's attitude to you?

They were terrified of us. The units of the Active Citizen Force were largely controlled by ex-servicemen, and we had top officers, including generals, in our ranks. On one occasion when we converged on Cape Town from all over the country to arouse public attention, they took fright and put machine guns on the roof of the Houses of Parliament because they thought we were planning a coup.

Were you?

It never entered our minds. Our intention was to act democratically. None of us had been involved in politics and we

were not looking for any political power or office.

Did people try to break up your meetings?

Sometimes the Nationalists tried, but they had to be careful because our meetings were well organised, although our fellows were never armed.

How did you know they were Nationalists?

Who else would break up a meeting? They once broke up a meeting in Lydenburg, so we immediately announced we'd have another meeting there the following week. People converged from all over, mainly from the Lowveld; you could not get into the town hall, nor could you get a gallon of petrol or a pint of beer in the town. It was "Nagmaal" so we were accused of desecrating that occasion, but we went back to assert that we had a right of free speech anywhere in the country.

How big was your membership?

We had about 250 000 signed-up members, each paying a minimum subscription of five shillings. Many paid much more. You've got no conception of our impact on the public of South Africa. I alone must have spoken at 150 meetings all over the country in about two years. Money just poured in. Once, in East London, at a fete, we collected more than £10 000 in cash in half an hour. I was invited to talk to some businessmen in Cape Town, and they asked how much money we needed. I said about £8 000 to £10 000. They laughed at me, and said they would give us £80 000 to £100 000. Mr Harry Oppenheimer, who was then United Party MP for Kimberley, told me we shouldn't dissipate our efforts in fund-raising. He too guaranteed us money, so we stopped our fund-raising. But in the result we were naive to have done so.

How did your alliance with the United Party come about?

There was talk that in the coming election (1953), the United Party would oppose the Labour Party, which it wanted to destroy, because it wanted its parliamentary seats for itself. But the Labour Party was being very successful in recruiting working-class Afrikaners away from

the Nationalists. We pleaded with Mr Strauss, the Leader of the Opposition, and Sir de Villiers Graaff, not to destroy the Labour Party. They agreed not to oppose it, but only if we entered into a United Front with them and the Labour Party to fight the election. But we were naive to have done so. We should have assisted them, but remained independent. The UP was always looking over its shoulder at the platteland. It never wanted to fight anything on principle.

How did the Front break up?

It was over the "Swart Bills", the Public Safety Act, which gave the government the power to declare a state of emergency and imprison people without trial, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which provided for whipping. "Blackie" Swart was the Minister of Justice and we regarded him as a menace. We were bitterly opposed to these two bills in principle, but the United Party leaders supported them. One very well-known mining man said to me: "During the war, Smuts imprisoned Afrikaners without trial and now you complain because the government wants to throw a few kaffirs into prison."

I called a meeting of the Torch's national executive, which had about 70 members, in Cape Town. The Labour and United Party leaders addressed us. The Labour leaders were bitterly opposed to the bills, and they made a considerable impact. A couple of UP members tried to defend them, but it was clear to us they had not even studied them. We in the Torch decided unanimously there and then that if these bills went ahead, we would call a national day of protest. When we announced this to the press the next day they cheered. But I was quickly repudiated – in my view, quite wrongly, by a few of my senior executives. That was the death-knell of the Front and of the Torch. I think that some of the big businessmen involved were concerned about the impact the day of protest would have on the mines and on labour generally, because blacks would have supported it and it would have brought the country to a standstill.

Can you say anything more on the Public Safety Act, in the light of what has happened since?

It was the beginning of the "total onslaught" by the Nationalists on the

fundamental freedoms in this country, the erosion of all our rights, which has persisted ever since. If there is now a "total onslaught" against this country, as they allege, they are responsible for it.

While I have always held our judiciary in high regard, I believe that when it comes to the question of "voluntary" confessions, allegedly extorted, the Bench takes the line of least resistance.

What should it do?

I believe that once an accused person at his trial denies that a confession was made voluntarily, then it should be inadmissible. I would even go further, and suggest that once it transpires that an accused has been in solitary confinement, then any statement made by him should automatically be excluded. This might conceivably put an end to such brutality.

And alleged suicides in detention?

If a person is so ill-treated that suicide becomes an option, then in my view the person responsible for the treatment which led to suicide is guilty of homicide.

Coming back to the vote issue, do you think the government now regrets what it did?

They must do. They have alienated the "coloured" people, who will now tell them: don't include us and exclude the blacks. If the "coloured" people were to accept something denied to blacks, what would someone like Chief Buthelezi think? I've always told "coloured" friends of mine that they would be mad to estrange blacks because they would never be forgiven for it. Blacks must have direct representation in all law-making institutions. Excluding them can only lead to disaster. ●

CSO: 4700/1374

INKATHA STRATEGY OFFICIAL ANALYZES WEST'S SUPPORT OF EXILES

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English Jun 82 p 12

[Article by Gibson Thula: "International Pressure--False Support for the Fashionable Radicals"]

[Text] GIBSON THULA, chairman of Inkatha's strategy committee, argues that the reason the West gives support to exiled movements trying to overthrow apartheid by force is not because the exile movements are perceived as making changes fastest. Rather, he says, it is because they are not achieving changes at all.

THERE was a time when black people set great store by support from Western countries. For many years after the founding of the ANC, for example, there were attempts to ask Britain to intervene diplomatically on behalf of blacks in South Africa. By the forties and particularly the fifties, however, it was realised that these were vain hopes. Today most black people realise that the Western countries, no matter how antagonistic to Apartheid particular governments may be, are not going to actively and aggressively champion the cause of blacks in South Africa.

Black people who take note of the international scene realise the following things:

1. Trade with South Africa is too important for most Western Countries to make it possible for them to do anything which could weaken the export market to South Africa or reduce the flow of raw materials and agricultural goods.
2. Most Western countries do not place a very high priority on race reforms within their own boundaries. Almost all Western countries with black minorities have maintained housing and welfare policies for blacks which have done little to rehabilitate these

black minorities. Their policies more often than not have amounted to passive neglect, under the guise of not wishing to do anything that would "discriminate" between blacks and whites.

A few years ago a study in Germany, Holland and Britain showed that the attitudes of European whites towards blacks in their countries were much the same as the attitudes of English-speaking whites towards blacks in South Africa. That about sums it up. Blacks are somewhat cynical about the seriousness of Western whites when they say they oppose Apartheid.

3. Black people also realise that it is only really the pressure on Western nations, and probably on Eastern Bloc nations as well, that makes them take a firm verbal stand against Apartheid. There would probably be much less opposition to Apartheid in the Northern Countries if there was not an active and insistent Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations.
4. Furthermore, apart from some unrealistic fringe groups among blacks, black people in South Africa realise that there is in fact very little that Western nations can do to have a

quick and sweeping effect on the system in South Africa. Black people here are aware of the strength and resilience of the white-dominated system. We realise that it would take more than sanctions or boycotts from the West to change it. We realise that only very active intervention by outside countries could have a radical effect and that none of them would be prepared to or could afford to go to such lengths.

For these reasons, blacks who are reasonably well-informed do not any longer respond to overseas figures who are opposed to Apartheid with anything like the enthusiasm that was or would have been the case years ago. Even as late as the sixties, when Bobby Kennedy visited South Africa, there was a great deal of hero-worship among blacks - his tour of Soweto was very well-supported by enthusiastic black crowds. The same would not happen today.

I would sum it up by saying that all or most black groupings in South Africa today realise that black people themselves have to secure their own emancipation and liberation.

This does not mean to say that the organisation I represent, Inkatha, is unconcerned about the attitudes in the West. There is one thing in particular which concerns Inkatha a great deal. This is in fact a problem which the West's own inactivity in fighting Apartheid brings about.

As I see it, the intention of most Western countries is to avoid any costly action or intervention in regard to South Africa. This gives them a problem of credibility among the Afro-Asian bloc. They try to counter this in two ways. Firstly by verbal attacks on Apartheid which mean very little. Secondly, some countries also try to "correct" their image by making grants or appearing to be sympathetic to radical black groups like SWAPO or the external mission of the ANC. They give more moral support to some black liberation groups than others. It is fairly typical for them to overlook the importance of Inkatha for example, while over-emphasising the role of the ANC external mission.

This amounts to a kind of interference in South African black politics which is quite serious in its consequences.

It is particularly true of some church groups and other voluntary organisations opposed to Apartheid. The very sense of helplessness which their governments' ineffectiveness causes in them, makes them "over-react" as it were by being as fashionably radical as they can with regard to South Africa. Fashionable radicalism usually means under-rating the internal black leadership in South Africa and heaping accolades on the militaristic movements, quite irrespective of how successful these movements are likely to be in the short to medium term.

Inkatha realises that sanctions and boycotts are impractical. It also realises that a peaceful strategy is important to explore to the full before considering violence. If the Western countries feel unable to make any dramatic intervention in South Africa, the least they can do is admit this and attempt to be as helpful as possible to movements devoted to exploring peaceful change for as long as possible, like Inkatha.

That would show that they mean business. Inauthentic support for movements which are not creating change suggests that the Western countries do not want to see change take place.

COMMISSION REPRESENTATIVE DEFENDS BUTHELEZI REPORT

Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English Jun 82 pp 18, 19

[Article by Bobby Godsell: "Buthelezi Commission--Perhaps It Marks the End of the Beginning"]

[Text] The Buthelezi Report came, caused the usual brief and confusing flurry in the press, and then sank without trace from the headlines – dismissed by the average, bemused, South African as just another carbuncle in the never-ending stream of big words about apartheid which mean not much. BOBBY GODSELL, who was an alternate member of the Commission, sets the record straight.

THE publication of the Buthelezi Report and Andries Treurnicht's split from the National Party have been the major political events of 1982 to date. Both are centred around this enigmatic phrase "power sharing". Both present the wide-awake, earnest South African with the dilemma of trying to understand what these events mean, and whether they represent real change or yet another seven-day-wonder.

On the surface, the Buthelezi Commission Report can be dismissed as nothing more than liberal utopianism revisited; a sort of "Sprocas 2". After all, the Commission was well populated with well-known liberal figures. More important, perhaps, were those who were not present: the Nats and the ANC both failed to take up invitations.

The Commission Reports are scholarly (as becomes a good liberal endeavour), informative, and, the cynics will proclaim, well placed to join the now vast archives of unread documentation about what needs to be done in this troublesome society.

I believe that such a response would be seriously, even dangerously, off the mark. The Commission is significant for a host of reasons, at least some of which are set out below.

1. A black initiative

The Commission was initiated by one of the black actors on South Africa's political stage. This does confer a degree of uniqueness, even in comparison with events such as the Kliptown People's Convention which gave birth to the Freedom Charter. More importantly, it bears witness to a black desire to find a way forward. For so long now the whites have wanted nothing more than to defend the status quo, whilst blacks have done little but bewail it.

A black attempt to map out a road forward is in itself an important change of style in the black "politics of protest" that has filled particularly the liberal press for decades now.

2. A broad base

Even sans the Nats, the NRP (who sat but did not sign) and the ANC, the Commissioners whose names endorse the report represent a reasonably impressive alliance of interest groups – Inkatha, Tongaat, Anglo American, the Federated Chamber of Industries, Assocom, the Natal Teacher's Society, amongst others. In essence, this extends the already significant S.A. Black Alliance by linking it with important interest groups inside the white community. And these interest

groups go well beyond the natural Prog hunting ground.

At its crudest, the Commission Report represents a broad based consensus between the largest internal black political movement, the official white opposition and the other (unofficial) centre of white power outside government, the business community. Such an alliance is not insignificant.

3. A Common Response

The purpose of the Commission put simply was to examine how best the Natal/KwaZulu region might be governed. The emphatic response of the report was that in every area and aspect it would be best governed as one co-ordinated region rather than separate, ethnically defined territories.

Given the breadth of the alliance of interests the Commission represented, this itself has significance. However, the Commission went beyond merely denoting "common government" as a desirable ideal. It suggested some of the immediate and practical steps which could be taken towards this ideal's achievement.

Crucially, in defining these steps the Commission confronted the central political realities of South Africa in the eighties. These in essence are:

- Blacks comprise by far the largest part of South Africa's population, and no statistical, flag-raising-in-soccer-stadium sleight of hand can change that.
- Whites have an entrenched power position, which if challenged through armed insurrection alone will take decades and lives by the hundreds of thousands, if not million, to erode. No UN resolution,

or outspan-orange-boycott-act-of-solidarity is going to change that.

In the light of these inconvenient yet undeniable realities the Commission recommended a process to *begin with* which can clumsily be described as con-joint government, or more simply taking some decisions together. It foresaw a *transition period* in which a joint executive of the Natal Provincial Executive and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly could

be set up, and perhaps joint sitting of these legislatures could be held.

These *joint* bodies could make decisions that had the double validity of bodies popularly elected by Natal's white and black populations (the Asians and coloureds would have to have co-opted representation at first - but then who can expect perfection in our world?)

The Commission of course spells out steps beyond this joining decision making process. It maps out moves towards common political, economic, educational health and social services agencies, all based on consociational principles - which means decisions by consensus rather than winner-take-all.

For me, however, the Commission's significance does not lie in what it says about steps two, three and four: but rather in its bold, hopeful suggestions for step one.

Imagine: a joint Natal/Kwa-Zulu executive, and a series of legislative sessions alternating between Ulundi and Pietermaritzburg, with decisions on health, education, roads etc. responding to the needs of both the Msinga peasantry and the Berea bourgeoisie.

Of course, it will not "solve everything". In some ways it would be as Churchill once said not the end (of the South African dilemma), nor even the beginning of the end, but perhaps the end of the beginning.

It would represent a merging of the political (as well as the everyday life) processes which currently so fundamentally divide our country. If it worked even reasonably well it would build confidence that white and black interests *could* be reconciled, given a degree of real compromise on both sides.

Finally, it would give symbolic form to the alternative to Apartheid. Apartheid has only ever made sense in its extremities: separate parliaments mean and must mean separate armies, factories, schools, swimming pools. In converse, if common counsels of power can work they can make a shared society not too ghastly to contemplate.

Where to from here?

Of course, all the above would be more convincing if the Report had been universally welcomed. Isn't it a dead

document in the face of Nat and NRP rejection?

Not necessarily. Some comfort can be drawn from the fact that Nat reaction came from Horwood and not Botha. And the Nat press received the report in the most positive terms.

As for the NRP, its actions increasingly resemble a (not a so New) Republican Party up north.

Neither negative can dismiss the fact that leaders of a significant grouping of black and white South Africans are agreed on a framework for sharing some real power in a way that might prove to be more than a sanguine liberal day-dream.

CSO: 4700/1374

PROBLEMS OF WHITE, COLORED MIGRATION, BLACK URBANIZATION

The Trek Northwards

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 6 May 82 p 18

[Editorial: "The Coloreds Migrate Northwards"]

[Text] The coloreds are following the northward migration of the whites. In this process the blacks are increasingly replacing the coloreds who have left. This is what Dr Philip Smit, the deputy chairman of the Council for Humanities Research, said in Pretoria yesterday.

He was addressing the sectional mine and industry congress of the Afrikaans Business Institute on the necessity of future planning for the population distribution in South Africa.

Two clear migrations are in progress in the country: one to the north and one toward the cities. Ever since the Great Trek the whites' shift northwards has never yet changed to any meaningful degree. In 1936, 39 percent of the whites were still living in the Cape Province. By 1980 this was only 28 percent.

In the 10 years the Free State and the Cape Province kept on lagging behind more so than the rest of the country, as far as white population, was concerned. Of the 196 magistrate districts whose population shrank, 89 were in the Cape Province and 38 in the Free State.

It was mostly in the Central Karoo, Southern Free State, North and Northwest Transvaal where depopulation occurred. In the meantime most of the growth was in Kempton Park, Bellville, Alberton, Pinetown, Randburg, Boksburg, Pretoria, Newcastle, Hoeveldrif and Roodepoort.

The coloreds are following the whites northwards. Between 1970 and 1980 the colored population of 40 Cape Province towns dropped. The Southwest Cape (especially Wynburg, Kuilsrivier and Bellville) are still experiencing the biggest colored population growth, however, 68 districts of Transvaal, 38 in the Free State and 36 in Natal have become more colored in these 10 years.

As the coloreds move, their place is being taken by blacks as farm workers as well as workers in other sections closer to Capetown.

Asians are moving from east to north and Dr Smit said that the increase in Asian population in the East Rand, East Transvaal and the mining region of the Cape Province is noticeable.

The Error Committed by Verwoerd

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 6 May 82 p 22

[Article by Piet Muller: "As Black Trade Unions Flex Their Muscles"]

[Text] Traditionally the Afrikaner puts up a lot with bread and butter politics and therefore there have always been too many points of arguments and ideals in our society to get excited over. However, if we look at the forces which are now building up, it appears as though economic policy is going to be the most important single instrument with which governments are going to grind out the country's future in the several decades to follow.

The force which can split asunder our society, if it is not handled properly, consists of the 20 million blacks who are going to move from the black rural regions into the white cities before the end of the century. Passes, police vans, and influx controls will not be able to keep these people from our backdoors.

For Good

Two decades ago there could still have been a chance to keep these people in the rural areas, but the struggle against black urbanization was lost for good when Dr Verwoerd made the decision of not allowing white investment capital in the homelands. As a result of this the attractive forces of the black rural areas were weakened while the suction power of the white industrial regions of the country increased.

The situation has already been reached where for many untrained workers it is better to be unemployed for a couple of months in the cities, to work for a couple of months and to spend another couple of months in jail as an "illegal immigrant" rather than to try to make a living in one of the homelands.

Hand in hand with black urbanization was also the rise of black trade unions and black trade unions are going to play an increasingly political role and the role of black trade unions is not going to be contained by stronghanded police actions either. To the contrary it is already clear that such actions will only make the trade unions more militant.

Strangely enough today it is mostly young English speakers who are leading the black trade movement. Often these are people with a burning social awareness and great frustration over the domination of white politics by the Afrikaners and thus they find in black politics a way to give expression to their ideal. Often they regard white policy as not being "to the point"

with respect to the future of South Africa. In many cases these young charismatics have a strong impulse for martyrdom and, as the death of Neill Agget has shown, any action against them can lead to serious industrial unrest.

Links

Sometime ago a well-known industrialist predicted that black trade unions will increasingly challenge the government with respect to labor legislation which is unacceptable to them. They will also seek increasing links with overseas trade unions and this can lead to more foreign pressure upon South Africa.

The problems created by black urbanization and black trade unions are not going to be resolved through rhetoric and hot-winded speeches. An appropriate strategy for black urbanization must be worked out otherwise this will pose a serious threat to white political existence. Today the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Valdriehoek area is the heartland of the Afrikaner. If this is threatened the threat will not be only to the Afrikaner's political existence, but to his physical existence as well.

The government's plan for an accelerated economic decentralization in South Africa is already a strong foundation for such a survival strategy.

However, before the end of the decade we will also have to find an answer for the problem of political rights for the urban blacks, otherwise we will again be creating an explosive situation which can endanger our own future.

As the black trade unions begin flexing their muscles there is a real danger that certain white trade unions, such as the Mine Workers Union and the Iron and Steel Workers Union, will come up with a counter reaction which eventually could lead to serious industrial unrest. To avoid clashes and frictions between blacks and whites these people must be persuaded that their economic future will not be threatened by black urbanization.

Language

The enormous population shift now going on in South Africa will necessarily also have an effect on the country's language pattern. White depopulation and black growth have already made Afrikaans a "second language" in a region such as the Free State. In traditional Afrikaans areas, Afrikaans is going to be drowned out by black languages speakers who will have chosen English as the second language next to their own. Under so much pressure the language protection, which is built into the constitution, will perhaps be hopelessly insufficient for ensuring the future of Afrikaans. We must look to new solutions, such as district government with which to protect group rights, but this too must be backed up by economic realities.

How on Earth can a party, such as the Conservative Party, which was established with so much emotion at the Skilpad Hall [Turtle Hall], still be running from platform to platform without having anything resembling an economic policy?

COLUMNIST DISCUSSES AFRIKANERS GUILTS OF NEGLIGENCE

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 2 May 82 p 20

[Article by Willem de Klerk: "We Do not Have To Lie Low for this Task"]

[Text] In a sort of indirect way this week the old invective, namely: White guilt for our country's situation, was once more flung before the whites and specifically the Afrikaner.

Dr Allan Boesak of the Dutch Reformed Church is going about accusing us of being heretics amongst Christianity, because of our guilt as racists.

Minister Chris Heunis has accused the Federal Progressive Party of working against reform by continuously putting the whites on the dock.

Last week the Cape Province's Reconstituted Nationalist Party was hammering on the ailing feeling of guilt which dwells behind reforming actions.

Question: What place has guilt assumed in our politics?

Whenever we talk about this there is always a triple concept: Guilt, victim and remission.

First of all something about the guilt.

In my honest opinion the whites (Afrikaners) are not at fault with respect to the coloreds in South Africa in the sense of purposeful meanness. From colonial times onward and thereafter, in most instances, the whites settled matters with the coloreds through negotiations and bargaining. People to people relations were always good. For long generations whites have provided constructive services for the sake of the interests of coloreds and blacks.

The policy of separate development, in its basic philosophy, is an effort to establish freedom, justice, self expression and self preservation and to reject domination.

The whites have also forgiven many things, as there have been bad deeds committed against them. Revenge, as distinguishable from retaliation, has never played a role.

And yet, there exists a communal guilt which must accept. Of course there is also a heap of guilt on the shoulders of coloreds, but I do not want to say anything on that today and moreover I have often written about that already.

I want to mention four charges of guilt for the whites.

The guilt of missed opportunities: The development of the homelands could have been enthusiastically grasped by the blacks if we had moved mountains in the rather comfortable time we had for bringing about gigantic results. The border industries, decentralization and spatial arrangements could have already been an established pattern if we had given this greater thought. The estrangement between us and the coloreds could have been prevented if we had drawn them closer to us when they were still close to us.

This list of missed opportunities, postponed occasions, shortsightedness and easy living can be stretched out much longer.

The guilt of greed: Too often we have wanted to skim off the cream for ourselves and then establish further skimming, but the standard for this was a minimum limit for the coloreds.

The guilt of one-sidedness: Separateness grew like a wild shoot amongst us and thus togetherness was pushed aside to a precarious existence of near death. Everything was sectioned off in compartments and thus, through one-sidedness, we created a climate of rejection.

The guilt of color isolation: For us this became the highest norm and through this we were ensnared into a system of discrimination and disruptive separation with a sort of withdrawal from contact, talking, deliberations and mutual influence.

We should not try to cover up these four guilts; however, we need not put ourselves in sackcloth and ashes over that.

And now this brings us to the sacrifice.

What must we sacrifice in order to atone for our guilt? No, not our identity; not giving up our political voice, not by doing penance in a sick-looking manner with hat in hand; not by drawing a line across our policy; not by throwing color lines overboard....all these things, and even more, are part of the reality and of our right which we demand unashamedly.

The sacrifices which are really being asked are that we must give up the mentality of exclusive right and wrong barricade of injustice, arrogance and rejection in which we are trying to hide.

We must go out with reconciliation, we must wipe out some of our traces and we must make a cordial and new beginning, building upon what has been positive in the past.

This remission will come if we turn those four burdens of guilt into four initiatives.

The initiative to make use of our chances, substitute our greed with co-partnership, get over our one-sidedness and replace it with equilibrium and break through our color isolation with orderly association.

This is precisely what the reform policy is all about. There are still enough doors open for a national compromise in which whites will be able to exercise their rights; there is still a possibility of establishing a spatial arrangement through decentralization. Constitutionally speaking the policy of self-determination/joint agreement can still succeed between whites, coloreds and Indians and with the blacks in a confederation. There is still sufficient understanding that separateness is accepted, provided togetherness is given its full right. Differentiation is still accepted as a whole if discrimination disappears.

History will forgive the Afrikaner's guilt of negligence if he can prove--with disposition and deeds--that he understands the demands of his time and that he will not crawl away afraid of the task which is now resting upon his shoulders.

If we do not do this nobody will dare look this generation in the eye. Then our own guilt will be devouring us.

7964

CSO: 4701/71

COMMENTARY ON NEW NIS LOW PROFILE, ENCOUNTER WITH THE KGB

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 18 May 82 p 11

[Text] Johannesburg--As a senior spokesman put it, the capacity of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) "to wrestle with the KGB and come out best" is being estimated highly in the world's intelligence communities.

It takes an intelligence service with a smooth way of operating, by all its offshoots, for cutting through a knotty problem such as the exchange of Maj Alexei Kolzov for Detective Johan van der Mesch and eight Western spies and go through all the numerous stumbling blocks encountered in international negotiations.

Throughout the nearly 18 months gone by South Africa's "gray men" went through difficult negotiations with the Russians through (and with) mediators each of whom also demanded their pound of flesh. NIS attained a splendid success, but just like an iceberg, only the top of this is visible.

We refer to them as "gray men," but this has no reference to the TV advertised small, pale and gray little men of the world who are snatched away in a mail box by a secretive hand in a harem full of womanly seductions.

The days of James Bond are numbered. The men of the intelligence community are people who remain gray and anonymous.

Typically, with respect to the entire triumph of last week, practically nothing was heard about it or mentioned by the director general of the South African National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard. He prefers it that way. When he officially accepted the appointment on 2 June 1980 (after 6 months of preparations) he held a press conference and that was all! Ever since then NIS has been following the motto: "We say nothing and admit nothing."

There has already been a lot of pressure and temptations. People get into difficulties and then they claim to be members of NIS.

As a matter of policy the service remains silent about that. No espionage service worth its salt admits to the identity of its members and this is the view of Dr Barnard, because then with what kind of confidence would its members be inspired with?

It is a frustration that the kind of work being done never brings in any public recognition. "Our people have no ranks or uniforms;" this is what one of the members said, but then added that sometimes the media arbitrarily attaches ranks to certain of its members with the aim of providing more color to reports about the NIS. Behind the scene admissions do take place, however. A malicious report to the effect that the prime minister is considering getting rid of NIS sometimes coincides with a private medal pinning ceremony in which the successes of NIS are being rewarded.

Dr Barnard was recruited by Mr P. W. Botha from an academic position at the Free State University in order to fill one of the key positions in the service of the government when the former was 30 years old. As of June 1980 he brought in a great deal of evident stability within the NIS.

The skepticism, which was heard in many circles concerning the appointment of an inexperienced man from an academic position into the world of secret codes and ear whisperings, subsided.

Dr Barnard inherited a position vacated by the extrovert Genl Hendrik van den Bergh. In the interim it was the capable Mr Alec van Wyk who took over the direction of the office. During the last years of Van den Bergh's leadership that position was fraught with difficulties through involvements in things which, according to some statements, exploded in the face of the Bureau of State Security, as the organization was previously known.

For example, Intelligence Chief Genl Van den Bergh resigned in obscure circumstances, but his publicity conscious style and toughness made a lot of friends for him inside and outside of the Bureau and certainly a lot of enemies as well.

First it was up to Mr Van Wyk and then Dr Barnard to create a new image. This was an image of muteness outside of the office and not even the director general ever says anything. But what goes on inside? This remains secret as far as the general public is concerned. It's no use knocking on the doors of the NIS for some "juicy tidbits." Details about how people work in it are scant--NIS was established for gathering, evaluating and interpreting intelligence in accordance with scientific and academic approaches.

It is clear that as a "politicologist" Dr Barnard is doing well in the more peaceful atmosphere being extended by NIS. Naturally the organization still has a quota of eccentric veterans and this is a reflection of the hard realities with which they must cope. This eccentricity, so it would appear, has its place under Dr Barnard's leadership...but is not dominant.

In view of the fact that one usually looks to the leader of a team to find out how the team is handling its task, it may be of help to take note of a couple of Dr Barnard's few statements. This is what he said in May 1980 in ACTA ACADEMICA, the technical periodical of the Free State University:

"By taking the lead in a realistic manner South Africa can set the pace and choose the ground in which its competitive power is the strongest."

"For South Africans, as children of the Reformation, a basis of principles of the future does not mean rigid dogmatism."

In his first and thus far only press conference he held on 2 June 1980 Dr Barnard said that South Africa's problems cannot be resolved by violence, but rather "through positive and developing political actions. It will be necessary to assume certain political viewpoints, and definite political developments must take place."

He said that the task of the intelligence service is to provide the decision makers with correctly evaluated information on a timely basis so that this will contribute to the security of the state. "In the future the service will go on providing information and this will not be information which the decision makers like to hear, but information which, in the opinion of the service is the truth."

A news item which the decision makers were actually glad to hear was the one about the capture of the Russian, Kolzov. A big KGB man was trapped here.

While Dr Barnard maintains a low profile, the former deputy minister of National Security, Mr Kobie Coetsee (the Service should be the responsibility of the prime minister), in a statement he made in 1980, said that "the KGB must be combatted with its own formula. The KGB's techniques of misguidance, misinformation and propaganda are based on very intimate studies on the habits of the people of southern Africa. The KGB uses this knowledge very effectively in its actions. South Africa must also study these things if the KGB's actions are to be countered."

What this means: In the case of Kolzov, the National Intelligence Service had to wrestle with the KGB. In this instance, as indicated by the credit balance after the exchange, the result was favorable. But the wrestling goes on and only now and then will the public get to know indirectly what our "gray men" are able to accomplish.

7964

CSO: 4701/72

MORE DETAILS, COMMENTS ON GOVERNMENT REFORM PROVIDED

A Glimpse of the Future Government

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 18 May 82 p 12

[Text] Indications of how the proposed non-parliamentary executive authority and legislative authority, which will include the coloreds and Indians, will work, if the recommendations of the Presidential Council are accepted, were given yesterday in the council by Dr Denis Worrall.

As the chairman of the Constitutional Committee Dr Worrall introduced the discussion of his committee's first report regarding reformation at a central government level.

He said that if the president having executive power is elected directly by the voters then the office itself will become politicized, whereas the aim is to have the president stand above sectional interests. It is therefore proposed that he be elected directly by white, colored and Indian members of the legislative authority.

Members of the legislative authority will know each other, agreements can be concluded and arrangements made for the representation of the three groups in the cabinet.

Shift in Emphasis

The prime minister and members of the Cabinet will continue to be in close touch with the legislative authority. Conventions such as motions of no-confidence and censure will be written into the constitution so that there will be set customs for showing no confidence in the prime minister or members of the cabinet.

The atmosphere of the new constitutional authority will be very different than now. The emphasis will be shifting from the present interaction between the white majority and the white minority and from the custom of "winner take all." In the proposed legislative body the community oriented political parties will be playing the dominant role with interaction between the majority parties of the various communities.

Reform

"The government will have to work a lot harder to obtain support for its policy and the automatic majority will no longer be valid. This is going to be a more complicated and difficult system."

In the legislative authority there will probably be an expanded committee system much like the U. S. Congress has. For the purpose of accommodation policies, which the committee envisages, the role of the legislative authority will be an extremely important one and there is no talk about its influence declining.

Dr Worrall said that there are three reasons why the committee is starting out with the executive authority in reforming the central government level:

First of all the Constitutional Committee and the Committee for Economic Affairs in dealing with local and district administrations has recommended that the coloreds be represented in certain government departments;

Secondly, it was one of the Constitutional Committee's point of departure that coloreds and Indians must also have a say at the central government level.

Moreover one of the characteristics of consociation is the leaders-coalition (grand coalition) which must be established. After groups are given recognition and identified in this manner the following step is to involve their leaders in the government process.

Dynamic

The problem of creating an effective executive authority and keeping its powers under control can be best resolved through a separation of the legislative and executive functions. In France's Fifth Republic and in Germany's Bonn Constitution the principle of separation has been introduced successfully.

The Constitutional Committee is of the opinion that South Africa needs a strong executive authority because the period of reform is now entering in which a dynamic society will go on looking for answers. In addition the executive authority must be free of sectional ties and must be able to move freely across communal frontiers.

Dr Worrall said that he wants to warn against the inclination, which might arise, of carrying through the principle of segmental (group) autonomy, now being advocated for the legislative authority, into the executive authority as was the case with the composition of the Council of Cabinets in the 1977 plan. That would be a mistake. Three prime ministers and various cabinets will be unsuitable.

Interests

The principle of segmental autonomy must be determined administratively and politically rather than institutionally in the executive authority. The

committee has not recommended a fixed ratio for the representation of the three groups in the cabinet, although, as time goes on, this may become desirable.

Dr Worrall said that a statement of intention which the committee advocates must give the coloreds an idea of the South Africa which the government wants to see, while the statement should also contain assurances to the whites that their interests would not be neglected. The committee listened to testimony on the desirability of a Charter of Rights in a reform situation, but it thinks it is premature to recommend it at this time.

Dr Worrall said that although he did not specifically refer to the courts, the committee is very much aware of the value of an independent and separate court of justice. In the constitutional order being advocated by the committee, differences will probably arise and it is then that the courts will have to play their roles.

Hopes Stimulated; Vocabulary Strange

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 18 May 82 p 12

[Article by Jacques van Wyk: "Impressions From the Presidential Council"]

[Text] Words like "consociational democracy," "simple majoritarianism" and "segmental autonomy" are not everybody's kind of food, but yesterday these were important items on the Presidential Council's menu.

The subject of discussion was the first report of the Constitutional Committee on reform at a central government level. Dr Denis Worrall, the chairman of the committee got the ball rolling and pretty soon made it clear that what is being followed is a strong academic and technical approach.

Mr Willem Dempsey wondered how the average person is going to understand such concepts. It is going to take a lot of patience to make them clear.

Prof Anthony de Crespigny, until recently deacon of the Department of Political Science of Capetown University, even admitted that expressions such as consociation democracy are confounding the public. He simply calls it "watchamacallit democracy." On top of it there are several presentations of this concept. The Constitutional Committee has developed its own.

The committee recommends a limited consociation democracy because this will increase the democratization process in South Africa.

Mr. A. M. van Schoor was full of praise for Dr Worrall. When the chairmanship of the Constitutional Committee was entrusted to Dr Worrall there were some eyebrows raised and people wondered whether such a newcomer in politics would be up to the task.

Some 15 years ago he had attacked Dr Worrall in an article about a sounding in Soweto. It was found that the article contained defamatory statements and

his company had to pay up. Today he looks at Dr Worrall under an entirely different light. He sees him as one of the foremost political scientists in the whole world.

Interrupting him Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, the chairman of the Presidential Council, asked him: "Why don't you ask for your money back now?"

Mr Van Schoor also made reference to the relations existing among the members. When Mr Les du Preez (the last chairman of the Representative Colored Council) mentions uncle A. M. to him he regards this as an honor. But he will be 73 this Sunday and then he will simply have to call him grandpa!

Mr S. Abram-Mayet warned that if South Africa does not reform then revolution and instability will be the country's fate. The far right people, who want to put everything in vertical watertight structures summed it all up as follows: I will decide on my well being; you decide on yours and I will decide on both of ours.

Sonny Leon, the former leader of the Labor Party said that for the first time we are standing on the threshold of a breakthrough provided the government does not turn to the far rightwing, or the far leftwing which must first hear from Moscow as to what they must do.

It is not just the constitution which must be reformed, but also the views of certain people. If we do not succeed in this we will be driven into the sea by people who are sitting and waiting to do just this, according to Leon.

Dirk Kotze, professor of history at Stellenbosch University, did not surprise anyone when in his maiden speech delved into history a bit by saying that now that some people complain about an executive state president being a strange phenomenon let people note that the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal) both had executive state presidents. In both cases this worked well when a competent person who enjoyed confidence was the state president.

In the Orange Free State the state president was subject to certain controlling measures. The system worked so well that people abroad talked about "the model republic."

How did he find the Presidential Council as a newcomer? His answer was the Griqua's remark on a circumstance of this nature: "Sir, this is too good a place to miss."

Blacks Not Left Out

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 18 May 82 p 12

[Text] It is wrong to say that in the consideration of the Constitutional Committee's recommendations the blacks are being left out. This is what Dr Denis Worrall said yesterday during the discussion of the committee's first report in the Presidential Council.

Dr Worrall pointed out that in its report the committee says that a consociation democracy which includes whites, coloreds, Indians and urban blacks cannot be rejected altogether. However he did express some serious doubts about the viability of such a system. If the committee thought that this framework can function, then, according to Dr Worrall, it should have had the integrity to recommend this. (The committee proposed a consociation democracy for whites, coloreds, Indians and partition for the blacks).

Concept

Not anybody who criticizes the committee because the blacks, so to speak, are excluded, is willing to say that there must be an identical solution for all four groups. Logically it may be asked why the order of things being proposed for whites, coloreds and Indians must be rejected because, so to speak, the blacks are being excluded?

In its report the committee says that it cannot form a concept of a constitutional framework for whites, coloreds and Indians without also taking the blacks into consideration. However the committee is convinced that a unitary state or a consociation which also includes the blacks will not lead to a democratic order.

Dr Worrall said that the committee's report lays down the basis for considering the situation of the blacks living outside the national states. Nothing in the report hinders progress for them.

Opponents Warned of Dictatorship

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 18 May 82 p 12

[Text] Those who are against political power sharing in South Africa are groups who want to establish a one party dictatorship in this country. This is what Prof Herman Strauss said yesterday in the Presidential Council where the first report of the Constitutional Committee on reforms at a central government level were discussed.

Professor Strauss said that the criticism to the effect that the recommendations will put South Africa on the road to a dictatorial system is shocking and it points to a lack of knowledge of the characteristics of modern dictatorship.

One of the characteristics is that it is a one party system. Moreover, modern dictatorship is a total one in which there are no real freedoms. In this report there is no semblance to such a system and it is not to be found even in reading between the lines.

Hindered

The debate about powersharing which is going on before the Presidential Council is a futile one. Political powersharing has existed "for years" in South Africa.

Those who are against political powersharing in South Africa are groups who want to establish a one party dictatorship so as to hinder people from discussing politics and from exercising the right to protest.

Mr S. Abram-Mayet also referred to the office of executive president and said that although criticism may be expressed one must keep in mind the special circumstances in South Africa. The task is not going to be an easy one.

Criticism

The reform initiative must go on, but the speed must be slow while we will be working with new inspirations and earnestness. Reform makes the government more sensitive to the requirements of the people, it raises the legitimacy of the system and government and it brings to the foreground new realistic directions in policymaking.

He voiced criticism of those people who do not want reform and display an obstinate attitude.

"Unless we are willing and able to adapt and live together as brothers, we will perish together like fools. Our salvation lies in reform." This is what Mr Abram-Mayet said.

Mr A. M. van Schoor called the reports on constitutional reforms one of the great moments in South African History. "Now the moment of choice is before us: What are we going to do with regard to the 4 million people who have been forgotten or neglected in all the processes?"

He then turned to Mr Fanie Herman: "We now have a choice and the choice has fallen upon us. The English speakers and the coloreds can hold symposia, but it is not in their power to bring about peaceful change."

Four Objections to the Plan

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 18 May 82 p 12

[Text] Yesterday Dirk Kotze, the new member of the Constitutional Committee of the Presidential Council said that it is up to each group to want to and actually to assert itself in the new order being proposed in the first report of the Constitutional Committee on reform at a central government level.

There are several fears among the whites and the coloreds, but the Constitutional Committee has taken this into consideration and has chosen a government system of consociation democracy with groups autonomy as its basic element.

Essentially there are four misgivings about the proposals. First of all it is being asserted that the recommendation to the effect that "the direction of the official national policy on black people must be continued," means that the government has imposed partition upon the Presidential Council.

"This is not a reflection of the truth--as it appears from the first report."

Dictatorship

Secondly, it is being asserted that the continuation of the policy of partition will accentuate polarization between white and black. "This is being answered by the Constitutional Committee's reasoning that a policy and the practice of reasonable negotiations over partition is in its opinion the only workable possibility in South Africa. The burden of proof that this is unacceptable and impracticable rests upon the objectors."

Thirdly, it is being asserted that the creation of an executive state president will be putting South Africa on the road to a dictatorship. Professor Kotze said that this objection is coming from conservatives and liberals.

He pointed out the history of the Free State and Transvaal and said: "The system of an executive president, who is subject to effective constitutional controls, is in agreement with the 19th century Republican Afrikaners' best government traditions."

Finally the assertion was made that the recommendations will end up in stark integration and inevitably to the ploughing under of the whites. But there are enough safety valves in the model of consociation democracy and autonomy with respect to the interests of each group for maintaining the identity and self determination of everybody, according to Mr Kotze.

Comparison With the 1977 Proposals

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 18 May 82 p 12

[Text] Speaking in the Presidential Council yesterday its chairman, Mr Denis Worrall, said that although the recommendations of the Constitutional Committee on reform at a central government level go far, normatively speaking, in institutional terms they are not drastic.

In the discussions on the committee's first report Dr Worrall said that the principle of a president's having executive powers was accepted by the white voters and by the Nationalist Party congress in 1977.

With respect to the executive authority the 1977 proposals went actually further than the present proposals, because the powers which the Council of Cabinets would have had, in accordance with the 1977 proposals, would have been enormous. The former proposals would have certainly resulted in a very strong executive authority.

In that Council of Cabinets colored and Indian representatives would have been as equal in numbers as those of the whites. The Constitutional Committee now says that the coloreds and Indians must be given representation in the Cabinet, but does not specify the numbers. However, he believes that in the long run it might be desirable for the coloreds and Indians to have roughly proportional representation in the Cabinet.

Moreover, the Constitutional Committee's recommendations on the Presidential Council are not drastic. The constitution already has provisions for the referral of legislation to the council for comments, while only a slight revision will be necessary to make it possible for the committee, consisting of members of the council and of Parliament, to consider matters of legislation.

7964

CSO: 4701/72

CONSTITUTION-BACKSTABBING OF BLACKS UNTRUE, SAY COLOREDS

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 2 May 82 p 20

[Article by Gus Adams: "Who Are Those Blacks Accusing Us Then?"]

[Text] If there was ever a story which I am tired of hearing it is the one that the coloreds will stick a knife on the backs of the blacks if we accept a place in a possible new order of things which is not also offered to the blacks. With the approaching constitutional revelations of 12 May it is necessary that we look again at this sort of accusation.

Two views must first be noted. One of these has to do with the position taken by this column and the other with colored-black relations in general.

This column has the greatest respect for the blacks' just political objectives. I grant them the things I want for myself. It has always been so and so it shall remain.

The second view is more important. In the entire history of South Africa there has never been a case worthy of mention in which the coloreds have taken aggressive actions for taking over the rights, land, money or powers of any other group and this includes the blacks. We have always been on the side of law and order, whether authority rested in the hands of the Hollanders or in the hands of the British (as in the case of the Boer War). Perhaps we were too weak to do otherwise. But then this was a weakness to be thankful for. Even today we do not look upon the colored person as a potential grabber of this person's land or that person's rights. If there ever was a population group which practices the motto of "live and let live" then it must be us.

Why then would we now rejoice over a situation outside of our control in which an offer is being made to us and not also to the blacks? Are not our bona fides towards the blacks unimpeachable? I say they are.

This does not mean that there have never been cases in which there could have been more collaboration; however, that is now history. Abdurahman did not really want any blacks in his APO [African Peoples Organization], but then Clements Kadalie was not too happy about having the coloreds in his ICU [Industrial and Commercial Union of Africa] (unless this was on his

terms). Trade unions in which the coloreds had the upper hand went out of their way to help black trade unions to establish themselves from the ground up, even though the hand of friendship was not always welcome. The fact is that the friendship is there, but we must certainly not act from a position of personal advantages, because those are things to be found everywhere.

However, who is it that comes around with backstabbing stories? Perhaps I missed something, but I cannot remember a black leader of any worth making such an accusation.

Help me now, dear reader, but I have no recollection of this having come from Gatsha Buthelezi, Hudson Ntsanwisi or Cedric Phatudi and neither from the leaders of the new black republics or from opposition leaders within their homelands or states. Oh yes, some people will say that these persons are "irrelevant," but now I will tell you something else.

I am also not aware that this came from the ANC or from similar influences among the blacks...you tell me if I am wrong. There is something else: If today I were a member of the ANC I would not be selling such stories. To be sure, if it is true that the ANC is controlled by the Communist Party, then it would be their policy to use the system to get a foot inside the door.

Communists who have been mentioned as leaders within the ANC, by name or by insinuation, are exactly people who believe in infiltration instead of boycotts. When they were still in South Africa their big struggle was against people, such as found in the Non-European Unity Movement, who wanted to do nothing else but boycott, while they used elections and platforms in all councils and up to Parliament.

Let me ask again: Where did the backstabbing stories come from? My theory is that they came from those old chaps to whom I previously referred to as parlor-room philosophers, the do-nothings and charlatans. Their attitude has always been: criticize and slander other peoples' character, do nothing to shake up your own comfortable position, sit pretty and pass the whiskey, chaps! If there ever was irrelevance then it has settled there.

7964

CSO: 4701/71

PRESS, POLICE DIFFER OVER SECRET TRIALS

Police Official 'Misquoted'

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 12 May 82 p 7

[Text] The South African Police has decided to present charges against the SAPA news agency before the Press Board after assertions, apparently made by the news agency, to the effect that Lt Gen P. J. Coetzee (South Africa's security chief) is in favor of secret or closed trials.

According to a press statement issued by the police yesterday, the asserted source of this information is the SAPA news agency and it has been repeatedly requested to set this matter straight.

But apparently the news agency has refused to make any corrections and thus the decision was made to bring the case before the Press Board.

According to the statement further measures are also being considered.

No Secret Trials

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 12 May 82 p 12

[Text] Nobody is being detained in South Africa on account of political views and he denies categorically that the thought is being considered of holding secret trials for people accused under security legislation. This was the statement issued yesterday by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee.

In the course of the discussion of his budget item Coetsee said that the only thing under discussion now is the recommendations of the Rabie Commission regarding security legislation.

If the thought has taken root among members of the opposition, newspapers or abroad that the government wants to hold secret trials, then he wants to reject this.

He also told a newspaper, which was inquiring about the alleged statements by Lt Gen Johan Coetzee (South Africa's security chief) about political trials, that no political trials are being held in the country.

General Coetzee also denied that he said that he is in favor of secret police trials. He asked for a correction, but was not satisfied with it.

The general has demanded an apology. If he is still dissatisfied he will use other available instruments to correct this matter. This is what Mr Coetsee said.

7964

CSO: 4701/65

SOUTH AFRICA

POLICE INVESTIGATE REPORTS OF INTELLIGENCE AGENTS ACTIVITIES

Johannesburg DIE VADERLAND in Afrikaans 8 May 82 p 1

[Text] Johannesburg--Senior officers of the South African Police's Commercial Branch yesterday confiscated newspaper documents having to do with activities of asserted members of the National Intelligence Service (NIS).

The police served warrants to the RAND DAILY MAIL, SUNDAY TIMES and RAPPORT for the confiscation of documents in their possession.

They took two notebooks and a diary from RAPPORT and they were provided with documents related to the reports which appeared in the RAND DAILY MAIL and SUNDAY TIMES.

Brig Theo Scherman, the chief of the South African Police's Commercial Branch, and Capt Peter Jordaan took the documents from the MAIL which were connected with the published reports concerning alleged activities of members of the NIS.

Similar warrants were later served to the SUNDAY TIMES.

The editor of RAPPORT, Mr Sakkie Perold, confirmed the visit by the police, but he did not want to make any further comments.

Brigadier Scherman told the personnel of the MAIL that he was investigating charges of violations of the Act on Official Secrets against the three newspapers.

When asked who gave the order for the investigation Brigadier Scherman mentioned the name of the director general of NIS, Dr Niel Barnard.

He said that the charges which he was investigating had to do with reports which appeared in the MAIL on 13 and 19 April under the headings of "Dolincheck May Be State Witness" and "Bid To Gag Dolincheck: Two Named." The reports were written by Eugene Hugo the inspector-editor of the newspaper.

Brigadier Scherman read out the pertinent clauses of the act and then said that the results of the investigation would be referred to the general procurator of Transvaal, Attorney J. E. Nothling for the purpose of studying further prosecutions.

The police then went to the offices of SUNDAY TIMES where, according to a 25 April report in the newspaper, similar documents were taken over.

In the premises of RAPPORT the office of Eddie Botha was searched and two notebooks and a diary were confiscated. Eddie Botha keeps the reports for the newspaper.

7964

CSO: 4701/73

DANGERS OF COMMUNIST DECEIT, PROPAGANDA UNDERSCORED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 82 p 8

[Text] **MODERN** military equipment and arms would be of little use to South Africa if the propaganda warfare being waged against the country, was ignored. Colonel Joe van der Merwe, former commanding officer of the SA Air Force Gymnasium, said in Pretoria yesterday.

Addressing a parade at the gymnasium where he handed over command to Colonel Neville Greyling, Colonel Van der Merwe said one of the important facets of the global conflict was the "intense psychological cold warfare campaigns."

"Millions of words are spewed out daily over the air waves" by the superpowers in which they condemned each others motives.

"Indeed, our own country has been a primary target of this massive propaganda battle, therefore we must remember — and recognise — that even with the most sophisticated modern military weaponry, this will do us little good if we ignore this battle of words."

Colonel Van der Merwe added: "As the Russian Communists are masters of chess, so are they past-masters in deceit, propaganda and disinformation."

"All of this is part of their aim to undermine and subvert the morale of our troops and our various population groups."

He then emphasised: "We do everything within our capabilities to instil into our young men and women trainees the need for them to recognise these dangers."

"We consider it our moral responsibility to see that they gear themselves up to meet, and cope with, the many challenges in our endeavour to enable them to look ahead with confidence."

SOLDIERS TO BE CHARGED FOR ATROCITIES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] **SEVERAL** soldiers will be prosecuted and one man has already appeared in court in connection with alleged atrocities against the local population in the operational area in northern South West Africa, the Defence Force disclosed in Pretoria yesterday.

It said in a statement an alleged shooting incident was also being investigated by the SWA police and a case of alleged rape was in the hands of the territory's Attorney-General.

The prosecutions result from a three-month investigation by a specially-appointed board of inquiry, established in March after several complaints against the Defence Force had been lodged by local churchmen and tribesmen.

After studying the board's findings, the chief of the Defence Force, General Constant Viljoen, instructed that "suitable steps" be taken against alleged transgressors.

Rape and shooting

The atrocities were allegedly committed mainly in Kavango,

where the board investigated 16 complaints concerning eight separate incidents of alleged theft, intimidation, rape and fatal shootings.

Of the 24 allegations against the Defence Force in Owambo, the board had found that only one issue had not been resolved and it was not necessary to refer a single case to the Attorney-General, the statement said.

"In all the other cases, lesser transgressions were settled locally to the satisfaction of all concerned, while more serious cases were referred to the SWA police.

"Regarding the allegations in Kavango, the board found that some of the complaints about assault and intimidation could be substantiated and those involved will be prosecuted.

"In one case, a man has already appeared in court," the statement said.

"In cases where supervision was unsatisfactory, action will be taken against those concerned.

"One alleged shooting incident is being investigated by the SWA police, while a case of rape is in the hands of the Attorney-General.

"Everything possible should be done to prevent a repetition of the incidents," Gen Viljoen said.

A total of 37 witnesses appeared before the Board, which was presided over by Brigadier Ben de Wet Roos.

The board has reconvened and will hear further evidence until July 31.

The Defence Force appealed to interested parties to substantiate their evidence on alleged atrocities and not "to spread vague and unproved allegations."

"This is not in the interest of SWA/Namibia," it said.

The Defence Force also reiterated every thing possible would be done to stamp out atrocities by its members.

"The success of the security force in SWA/Namibia can mainly be ascribed to the good co-operation which exists between it and the local population," it said. — Sapa.

Action To Combat Incidents Announced

WINDHOEK. — The Commanding Officer of the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Charles Lloyd, yesterday announced comprehensive measures to combat incidents of alleged atrocities committed by members of the security forces in South West Africa.

Among the steps envisaged were the establishment of communication links between the SWATF and the representative authorities in the territory and the creation of a permanent military law office to investigate complaints and take corrective action.

General Lloyd said in a statement in Windhoek the prime objective in an insurgency war was to drive a wedge between the security forces and civilians.

"Swapo has recently begun to intensify its propaganda war in this regard.

"However, we are aware that atrocities do occur in the harrowing situation in which our security forces find themselves, although not nearly on the scale

that Swapo's propaganda instruments are trying to convey."

The SWATF denounced "in the strongest terms" all forms of brutality.

Gen Lloyd said the ethnic authorities would each be asked to nominate a member to liaise with the office of the general officer commanding SWATF on military matters affecting the various population groups.

The representative authorities would be empowered to put forward their views on acts of both commission and omission by the security forces and submit complaints.

The military law division would be instructed to investigate charges and initiate disciplinary action and compensation to civilians when necessary.

Gen Lloyd said he had commissioned the board of inquiry into alleged atrocities under the chairmanship of Brigadier Ben de Wet-Roos to extend its brief until the end of next month.

"This has been done since allegations of atrocities by members of the security forces against the local population are still being received," Gen Lloyd said.

People who wanted to testify before the board could apply in writing to the SWATF headquarters in Windhoek.

Gen Lloyd said interest groups in the private sector were also being invited to liaise with his office, while existing liaison committees with the SWATF in Owambo, Kavango and Caprivi would in future also hear and investigate charges against the security forces.

The general appealed to the news media to report to the SWATF incidents of misconduct and complaints against the Defence Force.

"The task of the Defence Force is to protect SWA and all its people and we are determined to live up to this role," Gen Lloyd said. — Sapa.

CSO: 4700/1366

AVIATION RECRUITING LETTER 'FRAME-UP' CLAIMED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jun 82 p 12

[Text] HARARE. — A letter ostensibly written by an American aviation recruitment firm in response to a South African request for mercenary helicopter pilots came into the possession of the Herald, the newspaper said in a front page report on Saturday.

The letter addressed to the head of the South African Air Force, Lieutenant General A M Muller, in Pretoria, deals with the engagement of highly qualified pilots trained in bush warfare.

The Herald says it spoke to Mrs Janice Barden, president of Aviation Personnel International, at her New Orleans headquarters. She agreed the letter was written on her company's letterhead.

She confirmed that the signatory of the letter worked for her and that the company "could have recruited mercenary helicopter pilots".

However, Mrs Barden denied the letter had been written with her knowledge, and said: "We don't write those sort of letters. It couldn't have been written without my knowing it."

The letter, dated April 6, 1982, read:

"Based on our agreement dated December 12, 1981, in which you request a continual supply of incoming pilots who are capable of working inside the Sas-

caf, we now forward the personal data of pilots who — according to our evaluation — meet standards stipulated by you. Said pilots are qualified to operate type YA H-64 combat helicopters and are well trained in jungle warfare.

"We repeatedly wish to direct your attention to the fact that we only recruit and recommend the pilots and the engagement procedures are the responsibility of your representatives.

"On instructions received from the competent bodies of the US Government and because of political factors, this go-between activity of our organisation calls for top secrecy from your side in full accordance with earlier guarantees."

A senior spokesman for the SADF emphatically denied all knowledge of the matter. He said when contacted that it sounded "most strange" because, he said, "we do not employ mercenaries".

"We do our own recruitment and we don't need foreign agencies to do that for us."

He went on to say that it sounded very much like a planted letter with the intention of embarrassing not only the South African

Defence Force but the South African Government as well. He said the whole thing had a false ring to it. — Sapa.

CSO: 4700/1366

JAAP MARAIS UPSET BY CP COLDSHOULDER

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jun 82 p 12

[Article by Dan Marais]

[Text]

THE leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said in Pretoria yesterday it was regrettable that Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party was not prepared to avail itself of the opportunity to establish a united front with the HNP to curb the Leftwing drift in the National Party.

Speaking in Pretoria Mr Marais said he had extended the hand of friendship on numerous occasions to the CP but had been consistently coldshouldered.

After at least 10 efforts to meet the CP on common ground, the HNP was no longer prepared to strike a political pact with them.

"The attitude of the CP came as a big surprise to me as they broke away from the Nationalist Party for the same reason the HNP did," he said.

He said the CP had used the flimsiest of excuses to shy away from HNP approaches.

Mr Marais said the HNP would decide tomorrow whether it

would contest the forthcoming provincial by-election in Germiston district. The Parliamentary seat is at present held by Mrs Bettie Schults of the CP.

Mr Marais claimed the CP had no clearly defined policy and it was most probable that the HNP was going to contest the election with drawn swords.

Asked whether any approaches made by he CP to members of the HNP asking them to defect had had any result, Mr Marais said they had been met with granite resistance.

BLAST IN CAPE TOWN: SECURITY WAS 'TERRIBLE'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jun 82 pp 3, 6

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — An intensive investigation in which 11 branches of the SA Police are co-operating has been launched after Friday's bomb blast in the Cape Town Centre.

An engineering student, Mr Michael Younghusband (26), died when a heavy load of explosives blasted a lift apart on the sixth floor of the building.

Speculation in political circles is that the blast may be connected with the President's Council, which meets in the Foreshore building.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, would not say whether there was any connection between the explosion and those in other parts of the country recently.

Mr Le Grange said it would not be fair to make deductions about the motives for the explosion, but security for the President's Council would have to be strengthened.

Brigadier Dries van den Heever, divisional CID officer for the Western Cape, said all branches of the police countrywide were doing their best to catch the saboteurs.

He appealed to the public, businessmen and private security personnel to be "con-

tinually on their toes" for suspicious objects and to contact the police immediately if necessary.

in the past two week at least 12 acts of sabotage have been recorded in South Africa.

The blast at Cape Town Centre is the first in which someone was killed.

All the other blasts have been in Natal and Transvaal.

The last blast which rocked Cape Town was on March 20, when the asbestos roof of a cell block at the Langa Commissioner's Court was ripped off. No one was hurt in the explosion.

The 12 blasts in the past fortnight have been:

● May 21: Two bomb explosions in Durban. One at the Port Natal Administration Board building in Moddie Street, Pinetown, and one at the Coloured section of the Department of Internal Affairs offices in Durban. No one was seriously injured.

● May 24: A bomb blast in the Lamont township office, Mobeini. Nobody was injured.

● May 28: Petrol tanks damaged in a blast at the storage depot in Hectorspruit, Eastern Transvaal.

● June 2-3: Six explosions in northern Natal damaged a fuel depot and railway lines. A major fuel depot was damaged in Paulpietersburg. Bombs planted between stations in Soweto exploded about 10 pm, blowing up two pylons and damaging two power lines.

● June 4: Blast at Cape Town Centre, a man killed.

Office workers criticised the security precautions in the building housing the Presidents Council.

They alleged: ● Evacuation drills were never practised.

● No instructions were given to fire warden who had been appointed on each floor.

● There were no security checkpoints in the building apart from men who controlled access to the President's Council offices.

"Some people said we had to leave and others said we had to stay just where we were," said one.

A man who works on the second floor said a

staff count was done immediately after the blast and employees were ordered to leave the building.

Miss A Stoffberg, a secretary who works on the sixth floor of the building, said the security in the building was

"terrible."

"Anyone can walk into the building whenever they like — there is no control," she said.

"We never even practised a fire drill," she added.

"With the situation in the country as it is, why do they let the President's Council sit in a public building? They should have given them offices where proper security measures could have been taken," a man said.

"This building was a sitting duck — when the President's Council moved in here, everybody said we would be a target. I'm surprised it took so long," one woman said. — Sapa.

[page 6]

[Editorial: "Outrage"]

THE BOMB ATTACK which has killed a man in Cape Town fills us with horror. Not only because an innocent man died, but because the bomb was planted in a lift in a public building.

If it had gone off later, when dozens of people were leaving, the death toll would have been high.

Just imagine it. People are in a packed lift and a bomb explodes. Their bodies would be ripped apart, just as Friday's victim was.

Such a callous disregard for life by those who perpetrate this kind of outrage is utterly disgusting.

They do not care that innocent people might be killed or maimed.

They use the foulest means of causing terror — the bombs surreptitiously planted in a place where it can cause the maximum explosive effect and the greatest possible damage.

Bombs have been placed in a shopping centre, in a car showroom, at a war memorial, in offices run by Government and semi-State institutions, on railway lines, and at strategic installations.

Sometimes in the daytime, when people nearby might be killed or injured; sometimes at night, when there are passersby; at other times and places where, fortunately, there is no one around.

The liberals weep for a terrorist who attacks a police station, holds up a bank, plants bombs on a railway line, or attacks electricity and other installations and is caught and perhaps sentenced to death.

In cases where people are killed or maimed, they weep not for the victims but for the attackers, whom they regard as liberators of the "downtrodden Blacks" rather than what they really are — brutal men of terror, cold-blooded murderers and destroyers of property. It is ironical that the latest in a series of bomb attacks in the past two weeks was aimed against the President's Council, which has its offices in the building in which the lift explosion occurred.

Ironical because it is the President's Council which has put forward the reform proposals which will begin a process of radical change in South Africa.

Change which will affect not just the Whites, Coloureds and Indians who will share power in terms of the council's reforms but in time must also affect the Blacks as well.

The attack, like others in the past fortnight, was made by the African National Congress, a Russian-backed revolutionary movement seeking to overthrow the White Government and replace it with a Black Marxist one.

The latest series of bomb attacks is not connected with change, good, bad or indifferent, but with the commemoration of the June 16 riots in Soweto and the June 26 anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

Coincidentally, these attacks come when the death sentences on three terrorists who attacked the Soekmekaar police station in the Northern Transvaal in 1980 were commuted to life imprisonment.

A campaign was launched both here and abroad against their being hanged, the argument being that nobody was killed.

However, two policemen on duty narrowly escaped death — one when a grenade landed on his chest and he had the presence of mind to throw it away, and the other when the pin of the grenade which was thrown at a policeman jammed.

We do not know why there was clemency — the Appeal Court had dismissed the appeal against the death sentence — but there were suggestions that the lives of the men and woman who are to be tried in the Seychelles for the attempted coup would be saved if President René's appeal for clemency in the Soekmekaar case were heeded.

We do not know if this was the deciding factor, but we hope it was not, since we do not think President René should influence the course of justice here.

The commuting of the Soekmekaar death sentences should, in any event, not be regarded as a precedent.

If men perform acts of terrorism it makes no difference whether they actually kill people, endanger lives, or destroy property.

They must know the deadly consequences if they are caught.

INCORPORATION OF KANGWANE SEEN CREATING PROBLEMS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 21 May 82 p 9

[Article by Chris Marais]

[Text] The Governments of South Africa and Swaziland are still negotiating on the incorporation of KaNgwane, a homeland without self-governing status, into the kingdom. Maps may be drawn up, edicts may be laid down and new passports issued, but what about the people whose lives might soon undergo drastic changes? CHRIS MARAIS spoke to them. TREVOR SAMSON took the pictures.

IF AND when KaNgwane becomes part of Swaziland, your last sight of Gordon MacPherson and his exotic pheasants will be a little dust devil headed swiftly for Natal.

The Scot — who has travelled Africa for more than a decade — wants no part of being a border farmer.

While politicians in Pretoria and Mbabane go about the office aesthetics of re-mapping the area and aligning new borders for Swaziland, the people living in Honeybird and Louieville are opposed to the changes that will come into their lives.

Honeybird is the small farming community just to the west of KaNgwane. Louieville is the "homeland's" capital, where Chief Executive Councillor Enos Mabuza shares the white farmers' trepidations about any proposed amalgamation with the black state.

A Mail team visited Mr MacPherson and his neighbours at Honeybird recently.

"There will be problems if the borders are extended," he said. "Take the security question, for instance. As it is, there is a very small police representation out at Louw's Creek. Livestock theft is commonplace here, and

if KaNgwane becomes part of Swaziland I'm sure the situation will deteriorate.

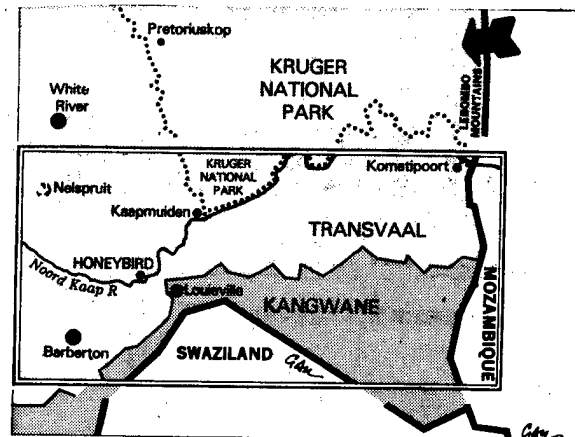
"The little homeland has served as a buffer zone for us in the past. That will obviously disappear. We have also been told nothing by the Government about the future status of the area, and that's another sore point."

Mr MacPherson, whose main farming line is breeding imported pheasants, says he'll sell up and move back to Natal once the new border lines are finally drawn.

"What else is there to do?", he asked.

Down the dirt road, 72-year-old Mr Dawid Marais says he'll sit it out and judge the situation as it comes.

"I still don't believe it," he said. "As far as I'm concerned someone just drew a line in an office somewhere and that's how we have to live from now on.



The KaNgwane "homeland" and the bordering Honeybird farming area.

Graphic: GAIL IRWIN

"What's to happen to our railway line, our main road link to Barberton and our water supply? Will they be part of Swaziland or not?"

Mr Marais says property values in those parts are bound to drop, and "then we'll be sitting where all border farmers are sitting in South Africa these days."

His other concern is that if the Swazi border is extended to just short of Honeybird, the small community will be hemmed in by the mountain range at its back and the border.

His view is staunchly conservative, but nevertheless indicative of the general farmer feeling in the area.

"Look, son, when a man wanted another man's land in the past, he had to shoot to get it. Today, we are giving it away. Where else but in this country does this happen?"

His neighbour, Mr Nico Grobler, says that the proposed new border will be impossible to police and control.

Down in the valley, near Louieville itself, lies the plush cane and cotton farm that used to belong to the Millars, a family that established itself in the area more than 35 years ago.

Today, the Millars are still on Lilydale, but they're paying lease on the property until the end of the year, when they'll have to move out.

"We sold Lilydale to the Government last year," Mr Geoff Millar said. "They paid us R3 500 a hectare for the land. When they made the offers, most of us — being young enough and willing to continue farming — thought we'd move down the line and buy other farms."

Once the sale took place, the papers signed, Mr Millar went in search of a farm away from the border and found to his horror that he would have to pay almost R10 000 a hectare for sugar cane land.

"And with the production costs being what they are, I'm forced to give up farming," he said.

Mr Millar, who leads the Louw's Creek Farmers' Association, said his group had sent a memorandum to the Government expressing concern about the future of their water supply.

Farmers operating just outside KaNgwane get their water from the Shiya-lo-Ngubu Dam, which lies inside the "homeland". If incorporation takes place, they will need certain assurances — or another water source.

At Louieville, the Chief Executive Councillor of the only homeland left in South Africa with no self-governing status, says the illegal immigration problem will double itself if KaNgwane becomes part of Swaziland. He is fighting for the autonomous identity of KaNgwane.

Mr Mabuza said the opinions of the blacks living in the area had been canvassed and that they were "totally opposed" to amalgamation.

He reiterated the "buffer zone" argument and said that South Africa's security problems would only increase if that zone was removed.

"Another point is that KaNgwane is not exclusively the home of the South African Swazi," he said. "It has become a heterogenous society, consisting also of Northern Sothos, Shangaans, Zulus and Ndebeles."

As Mr Mabuza said in a message to Dr Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, on April 2 this year.

"Whatever the outcome of the 'border adjustment' talks between the South African Government and Swaziland, we request you, Mr Minister, to inform the South African Government to bear in mind that we are not plants or animals" (an obvious reference to the Kruger National Park) "but that we are human beings with souls and feelings."

BLACK TRADE UNIONS SET PACE IN ANTI-APARTHEID STRUGGLE

London THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST in English No 89, 2nd Quarter 1982 pp 20-29

[Article by R. E. Matajo]

[Text] 1981 was a year of struggle and progress for the South African working class. The outstanding features of the year on the labour front were the unprecedented wave of strikes, community solidarity with strikers, the upsurge in trade union organisation and changes in the labour laws. These events are related. The changes in the labour laws are both the cause and effect of the great upsurge in trade union organisation and militant action by the workers.

The economic gap between the two great classes in our country, workers and capitalists, keeps getting wider. The capitalists are getting relatively and absolutely richer and the workers are getting relatively and absolutely poorer.

Company profits are soaring as never before, flowing from an increasing rate of productivity, which means an increasing rate of exploitation of the working class. Company directors earn huge salaries and live lavishly.

Companies are assisted by the regime's strike-breaking, police interference, raids on trade union offices, detentions, banning and arrests of trade union leaders and strikers. A typical newspaper report reads: "Van loads of armed police are raiding sites along the East Rand and hundreds of unregistered black workers are being arrested". (1)

There is a huge gap not only between the incomes of employers and employees, but also between the wages of white and black workers.

"The average earnings of more than 600,000 whites in a wide range of jobs exceeded R1,000 a month in March this year. Their earnings were 23% higher than in March 1980.

"... over the same period the earnings of black workers rose 25% to an average R220 a month, those of coloured workers rose 23% to R293 a month and for Asians workers the increase was 20% to R348 a month." (2)

Gross discrimination is demonstrated in the salaries paid to government employees i.e. the state, provincial authorities, local authorities.

Number of white workers employed: June 1981	310,000
Number of African, Indian and Coloured	510,000
Total	820,000
Total earnings of white workers	R780m
Total earnings of African, Indian and Coloured workers	R387m
	(3)

The National Manpower Commission (NMC) in its first special report published on 3/6/81 stated clearly that so long as we persist in trying to recruit High Level Manpower (HLM) mainly from the white community, the country cannot realise its development targets. HLM as defined by the report consists of 'all persons engaged in the professional and semi-professional occupations, technicians and management personnel of all kinds — excluding farmers, artisans and clerks at the lower levels.'

In 1979, whites comprised 30% of total manpower but provided 71.9% of the HLM. Corresponding figures for coloureds were 11.4% of total manpower, 7.8% of HLM; for Asians 3.9% and 3.2%; for Africans 54.6% and 17.1%.

Between 15,000 and 18,000 artisans' jobs are unfilled. Only a handful of black apprentices are given training in urban areas. Closed shop agreements between white trade unions and employers operate de facto discrimination. The economic boom has not reduced the mass of black unemployed. Figures are grossly unreliable because they exclude the huge mass of unemployed in the homelands. Yet they indicate that 20% of black women and 42% of black young men in their 20's are jobless. Unemployment and inflation bear witness that the poor are getting poorer.

South Africa's inflation rate in 1981 was the worst since 1924. Thus the real wages of all workers were slashed by the 16% rise in the cost of living and for the lower income groups the rise was 20.5%. Monopolies set prices that are far above the cost of production. While farmers' gross earnings rose by 22%, South Africa's 1.3 million farm-workers suffered a deterioration in the purchasing power of their wages and in their living conditions. The average monthly cash payments to farm workers in Transvaal and the Orange Free State were about R25 to R30. In the Western Cape, the figures were substantially higher, from R53 to R79. The abolition of the labour tenant system and the tightening of influx control has worsened the position of farm workers. Farm workers are excluded from the Wage Act, the Labour Relations Amendment Act, Factories Act and Unemployment Insurance Act. South Africa's agriculture depends on cheap labour immobilised by the pass laws. In addition to these injustices, the workers are subjected to brutal treatment by farm owners.

The Fight Back

The oppressed, exploited, starved, unemployed, homeless, organised and unorganised workers are uniting in the struggle to survive against the capitalist white minority regime. The frustrations and mass anger of young and old, men and women, are stoking the fire of a broad-based movement

for "Unity in Action." During 1981 the people showed their awareness of the need to unify all forces, the need to take a stand in the struggle against racial oppression and class exploitation.

The first 10 months of 1981 saw a rapid escalation of labour unrest. The regime cannot boast anymore of 'peace in industry'. 180 strikes were recorded in the 10 months to October 1981 during which 140,000 workers participated in many industries in the motor assembly, food, paper, engineering, mining and distributive trades. The issues were: workers demanding wage increases, the reinstatement of workers' leaders, trade union recognition, recognition of agreements and, last but not least, the struggle against the draft Pension Bill.

Under the new Pension Bill workers were only entitled to get access to their contributions at the age of 65. Fearing permanent loss of their money, the workers demanded their contributions back before the Bill was passed and this led to widespread labour unrest. Many companies were forced to pay out large sums of money to their workers as a result of the strike actions.

An important phenomenon in most of the strikes was that they were led by trade unions. Where strikers had no trade unions they appealed for help to trade union federations such as the National Federation of Workers (NFW), the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) and the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU).

FOSATU's annual report discloses that out of 90 strikes in FOSATU-organised factories, 36 were over wages, 25 over dismissals, 10 over management-worker relations, 10 over union recognition, 4 over pensions and 4 over working conditions. A further 30 strikes or work stoppages were mostly the result of dismissals, disciplinary procedures and working conditions. (5)

We must recognise that decades of struggle to win the right for African workers to form unions with the democratic right to represent their members have been crowned with limited but important successes in that the apartheid regime has been forced to grant some limited concessions. The regime realises that it cannot prevent the emergence of African trade unions. Its main objective in making these concessions is to ensure that those unions which exist and continue to emerge are controlled and manipulated in the interests of the continued racist exploitation of the black working people. The Black workers have in the recent past been raising their level of unionisation, scoring many important victories, demonstrating in practice their readiness to build trade union organisation.

A major contributory factor is the slow, patient and painstaking work of organisers who have been active in the major industrial centres in the past decade. Some of them belong to old established unions, some are relatively new in the field.

The estimated African trade union membership is now between 200,000 and 250,000. It is evident that the advance has taken place in many ways and through the instrumentality of many different organisations and leaders. This diversity in fact has given rise to a process of fragmentation

and competition which is a major weakness and a problem which demands urgent solution. Amongst the African workers there are now at least 5 centres: the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), FOSATU, SAAWU and NFW.

CUSA — Council of Unions of South Africa. Formed in September 1980. Rand-based. 8 member unions. All black. Representing building, chemicals, steel and engineering. Paid up membership 19,000. Signed-up membership 36,019. General Secretary — Mr. Piroshav Camay. CUSA proclaimed its main objective as a completely black-led union federation, but has no specific economic or social programme beyond that. Funded by Western European affiliates to the ICFTU, British TUC, West German Catholic Development Fund and the Friederich Ebert Foundation.

FOSATU — Federation of South African Trade Unions. Formed April 1979. According to its annual report last year, the membership has risen from 59,460 to 94,617 since November 1980. It has a majority membership in 347 factories and union rights are being negotiated in more than 130 factories. Some of its affiliated unions nearly trebled in membership. It also claims that 75 white workers resigned from the SA Yster en Staal Unie to join their affiliate the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union. It plans to organise in Northern Natal and other areas.

SAAWU is an unregistered trade union body. It sees its task as organising ALL workers. Its policy is non-racialism based on workers' unity. It strives to organise workers on the shopfloor. The guiding principle of the union is mass participatory democracy. This means that the workers decide the policy, direction and tasks of the union. SAAWU either organises workers into affiliated trade unions or representative workers' committees. The membership of SAAWU at the moment is mostly African, but it wants to organise all workers, whether they be Coloured, Indian or White. Its general secretary, Sam Kikine, claimed 26 affiliated unions with a membership of 75,000. SAAWU is also engaged in organising the unemployed workers. SAAWU has given courageous leadership to the workers in SA and the government is banning and detaining SAAWU activists. In the Wilson-Rowntree dispute the company and the Sweet Workers' Union, an affiliate of TUCSA, are cooperating against SAAWU and the interests of the African workers.

SAAWU is like a general workers' union on the lines of the old ICU. It is necessary to look at the reason for the failure of the ICU — it failed because it was unwilling to organise industrial unions, to introduce rank-and-file democratic control of union funds and elections. There is no reason why workers who are willing to join SAAWU should not be organised in industrial unions, say transport workers in East London, stevedores, railway and harbour workers, and those existing unions link up with unions of the same industries in the rest of the country.

TUCSA — Trade Union Council of South Africa. Last breakdown showed a membership of 299,455 — 73,859 whites, 187,180 Indian and Coloured workers, 38,416 Africans. Recently increased its affiliated trade union membership and last year claimed its 49 affiliated unions represented 361,000 workers of all races. This increase has been brought

about mainly as a result of affiliated unions opening their ranks to black workers. TUCSA recently won the affiliation of the SA Artisan Association, a railway union which opened its ranks to black workers. TUCSA persists in its policy of supporting the establishment and not offering confrontation. During the strikes on the Pension Bill, its President Anna Scheepers urged workers not to press for the repayment of their pension money. It also denounces the unregistered unions for their rejection of the industrial council system.

NFW -- National Federation of Workers. Details of membership and affiliation uncertain. A general workers' union. See comment above relating to SAAWU -- the NFW also needs firm grounding on an industrial basis.

Other organisations catering for African workers include GWU -- General Workers' Union. This general union has done tremendous work, and met with great success -- particularly in organising and obtaining higher wages and better conditions of work for stevedores, building workers, meat workers. Their work and achievements should be consolidated into democratic industrial unions.

The same applies to the TGWU. The recently established General Workers' Union of South Africa, a new exclusive black trade union established in Port Elizabeth which represents among others stevedores, bakery, textile, metal, hospitals, domestic staff, dairies, municipal workers, public transport drivers, sales representatives, clerical staff and the building industry. Some of these sections have unions. The situation should be carefully examined with a view to organising thoroughly democratic industrial unions.

Unaffiliated trade unions, unregistered: Now estimated to total 49,000 members, mostly African. Some of the larger unions are the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Non-European Municipal Workers' Union (Cape Town), the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA), Black Municipality Workers' Union (BMWU). These unions should be encouraged, together with the above trade union centres and general workers' unions, to establish a united co-ordinating body to bring about the unity of all

registered and unregistered unions to work for united action by workers based on industrial unionism.

Political Direction

So much for organisational structures. There remains the question of policy. What is our attitude towards the competition that is now going on between the various trade union centres? Broadly one can distinguish five major groupings:

- i. The extreme right wing represented by the South African Confederation of Labour.
- ii. TUCSA, which works with the ICFTU, AFL-CIO-AALC and takes up a typically social democrat stance. They say "keep politics out of trade union work", operate within the existing social structures and aim at reforms without revolutionary upheaval.

iii. A mixed bag of black trade unions not affiliated to TUCSA, but having financial, organisational and ideological ties with the external agencies particularly ICFTU, AALC, and Friedrich Ebert Foundation. The leading bodies are FOSATU and CUSA.

Some sections in this group attempt to mobilise the members in the struggle against apartheid and for free trade unions without discrimination.

iv. A group of unions which do not receive support from the international sources mentioned above and are opposed to the regime. In this category fall SAAWU, GWU, PE GWU, Transvaal GAWU, GAWU, AFCWU, FCWU. The regime harasses, detains and bans their leaders.

v. A few unions like MWASA and BMWU receive aid from outside but are strongly opposed to the apartheid regime, are victimised by the regime, and have their leaders banned and detained.

The existing division and competition are the result in part of the attacks by the regime on militant trade union leaders who were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and detained under the Terrorism Act. An additional factor is the intervention of international trade union bodies such as ICFTU, AALC, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which promote divisions by financing different union centres and splitter groups. Their policy of avoiding confrontation with the regime and all forms of militant struggle has divided the trade union movement into two camps. One practises economism and avoids political action, while the other openly opposes apartheid. These contradictory attitudes are greatly strengthened because most subsidies are paid to the 'economist' non-political unions. Personal interests, ambitions and power-seeking are contributory factors which would not however come to the surface were it not for the encouragement given to individuals with such tendencies.

Langa Conference

On August 8, 1981, a conference was held in Langa, Cape Town, attended by delegates from all trade union centres, registered and unregistered, affiliated and unaffiliated unions representing 150,000 predominantly black workers throughout the country. The unions and coordinating bodies represented were — FOSATU, Council of Unions (Tvl), SAAWU, GWU (Cape), FCWU, AFCWU, GWUSA, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA, General and Allied Workers' Union, the Industrial Aid Centre, BMWU, MACWUSA, Municipal Workers' Association (Cape Town). This was the most representative conference ever held of unregistered and registered trade unions. They took important decisions:

- i. To reject the present system of registration designed to control and interfere in the internal affairs of the unions.
- ii. To support each other in defiance of any abuse of investigative powers by the authorities.
- iii. To support each other in defying restrictions on providing financial aid to striking workers.

iv. To reject the present Industrial Council system and recommend that unions which are not members of councils should not join them, and to request others to refer this issue back to their membership for endorsement.

v. To establish 'ad-hoc solidarity committees' in various regions to initiate solidarity action arising out of the meeting. These ad-hoc solidarity committees will be an important factor in developing greater unity between workers which belong to different unions and will strengthen the 'workers' decisions for militant action in support of their demands.

vi. Due to the severe difficulties created for workers by homeland authorities, the meeting resolved to send a delegation to Chief Minister Sebe to discuss his anti-union stance and the security of the workers in the Ciskei.

These decisions are of the utmost importance. The delegates not only spoke for the 150,000 workers they represented, but gave leadership to the whole working class in South Africa. We are confident that their decisions will stimulate discussion, organisation, action and further our revolutionary national democratic revolution.

The conference also emphasised another vital factor — the subjective question of the workers' consciousness and the amazing growth of self-confidence, a refusal to tolerate the usual brutal and high-handed methods of the racists and their agents in the police, courts and prisons.

What the upsurge in working class activity in recent years proves is that, although the white minority still control all the law-making processes and law-enforcing agencies, the press, radio and television, schools, universities, the economy, the military establishment and communications, it can no longer control the black workers' thoughts and is more and more hard-pressed to control their actions.

In the present situation, a great responsibility rests on the South African Communist Party.

The basic function of a Marxist-Leninist Party, the function which is universal to all Marxist-Leninist parties, irrespective of nationality, is that we are the revolutionary party of the working class, whose role is that of the vanguard in the fight for socialism. Our function is to pursue the path of socialism, to win adherents to our struggle for socialism and to raise the level of understanding of socialism among our workers, peasants and intellectuals and all population groups. Because the working class in our country is the pivotal force in the struggle for meaningful change, social progress and for socialism, our Party must place its main emphasis and focus on the working class. This most basic of all political concepts must be restated by us.

We cannot ignore and delay organising and leading our working class. We must recruit new personnel and give them an understanding of our role as set out by Lenin in *What is to be done?*:

"Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers. That knowledge comes from all classes, the state and government. To bring political knowledge to the workers the Social Democrats (read communists) must go among all classes of the population and they must dispatch units of their army in all directions . . .

"Every trade union secretary conducts and helps to conduct the economic struggle against the employers and the government. It cannot be too strongly maintained that this is still not social democracy (read communism), that the Social Democrat's (read communist's) ideal should not be the trade union secretary, but the tribune of the people, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what strata or class of people it affects, who is able to generalise all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation, who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in

order to set forth before all his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for all and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

The recent upsurge of the working class throughout 1980 and 1981 is in a large part a protest against national oppression, race discrimination and class exploitation. The working people are engaged in struggling against capitalist exploitation, but more specifically at the present time, against the forms that this exploitation takes under the system of apartheid. Nowhere else in the world are any people being deprived of citizenship on the ground of colour.

Notes

1. *Star* 8.5.81
2. *Cape Argus* 20.4.81
3. *Rand Daily Mail* 29.9.81
4. *Rand Daily Mail* 6.6.81
5. *Financial Mail* 18.12.81

CSO: 4700/1371

STRATEGY OF ARMING MASSES DISCUSSED

London THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST in English No 89, 2nd Quarter 1982 pp 77-87

[Article by Khumalo Migwe: "Further Contribution on the Arming of the Masses"]

[Text] The article "Has the Time come for the Arming of the Masses?" by Mzala (*African Communist*, No. 86 Third Quarter, 1981) raises one of the real fundamental strategic questions of our revolution. However, Mzala treats this question only from a strategic level and ignores (whether deliberately or not) the tactical aspects of arming the masses. "To recognise a definite form of struggle and not to recognise its technique," said Lenin, "is like recognising the necessity of taking part in particular elections while ignoring the law which lays down the technique of these elections"¹ In other words, Mzala's submission answers the question: What is to be done? but not the question: How is it to be done? or where to begin?

To "Arm the Masses" is to tread on a particularly delicate strategy of revolution. If implemented prematurely or untimely, the destructive effect on the vanguard movement can last for decades. It was with regard to this danger that Engels constantly warned that "strategies are not free creations of the mind of generals of genius" — strategies are the logical and practical theoretical conclusions engendered by practical life, they are theoretical developments that evolve from concrete situations of struggle or combat and guarantee victory. Jack Woddis once advised:

"Revolution is a serious matter. It cannot be solved by subjective wishes or the bold use of revolutionary slogans. And serious revolutionaries have to take a responsible attitude towards the people — workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, and others — who feel on their backs any mistakes made by those who would claim to lead them."²

On the other hand, this strategic ground is delicate also because not to arm the masses when the need arises could lead to a dangerous gap opening between the people and their leaders. Indeed, if political leadership is said to be an art, it is this required ability of the leaders, with their finger-tips ever on the popular pulse, to detect the favourable opportunity and timeliness for a great revolutionary advance. le Duan reminds us that "as evidenced by the experience of all revolutions, one very important question, besides the preparation of political and military forces is to seize the opportune moment."³ Failure to seize the opportune moment has led many a liberation movement to a rearguard position. The role of tailism does not fit a revolutionary vanguard.

A Disarmed People

In 1968, Oliver Tambo, the President of the African National Congress, in a statement entitled 'Freedom or Death', made the following remarks:

"The founders of our nation . . . taught us that the African people were conquered because the Europeans had the guns and were organised. In addition, our forefathers fought separately and divided. In this way the Whites were able to defeat our peoples one by one."

Twelve years later, in 1980, Nelson Mandela, in a message smuggled out of Robben Island and finally released for publication by the ANC, hammered on the same historic fact:

"The gun has played an important part in our history. The resistance of the black man to white colonial intrusion was crushed by the gun. Our struggle to liberate ourselves from white domination is held in check by force of arms. From conquest to the present the story is the same."

To those involved in the liberation struggle in South Africa, it is no longer an issue of controversy or even debate whether or not the oppressed could hope to achieve their freedom except by organising their own army of liberation; in fact, to raise the issue is to be blind to reality, for we are already engaged in armed struggle. Our present attempts to organise ourselves under the leadership of the African National Congress and to wield modern weapons against our racist tormentors, implies the awareness that unless we do so we shall deserve to be oppressed and exploited. The call to arm the masses is, historically speaking, in the tradition of our earlier armed resistance but now occurring in a qualitatively new situation.

An analysis of the political situation given by the National Executive of the ANC in 1973 stated:

"In a struggle such as ours which pursues the strategic objective of seizure of power and not reforms or a negotiated transfer of power, the conscious and purposive participation of the masses in the struggle, on their own behalf and relying on their own strength, is of decisive importance."

This strategic objective is dictated by the military intransigence of the racist-capitalist ruling class. The ridiculous hope of a negotiated settlement in South Africa, shared by utopians and opportunists alike, will crumble before the reality of racist militarism and fascist uncompromise. In this regard as well, to call for the arming of the masses is most appropriate in view of our final objective: the unconditional surrender of the Pretoria Boers to the armed people. The "Arming of the Masses" dialectically means the disarming of the racists, and this is absolutely necessary.

The 1980 Revolutionary Conflagration

Anyone studying the course of events since 1976 — the outbreaks of violent resistance by workers and students as witnessed from Cape Town to Kimberley, from Soweto to Bloemfontein, from Uitenhage to KwaMashu — will confirm the timeliness of the call to turn from aimless, sporadic acts of violence to purposeful and organised mass violence linked with the broad movement for liberation. Undoubtedly, the "Arming of the Masses"

is an entirely correct strategy in meeting a situation in which all doors to peaceful ways of effecting change have been slammed shut, and where the masses are themselves breaking an old pattern of peaceful struggle and adopting new violent forms of struggle.

Just as the December events of 1905 in Russia had demonstrated that the general strike alone was out of date, that the mass movement was breaking out of these narrow confines and giving rise to the highest forms of struggle, so have the post-Soweto events in general and the 1980 revolt in particular, shown that it is now impossible to confine things to a peaceful

strike alone. A fearless and relentless armed fight is necessary. This logically calls for the arming of the masses, the immediate creation of fighting squads or "combat units" composed of a few people ready to go on the offensive against the enemy, armed with modern weapons — where there was a stone must now be a hand-grenade, where there was a stick or an iron bar there must now be an automatic rifle.

During times of revolutionary upsurge, the ideal movement for the masses is the one that answers their most urgent aspirations; and the future will belong not necessarily to the organisation that has the most progressive programme but to the mass movement that is most capable of drawing the masses into concrete revolutionary struggle.

As early as January 1905 Lenin wrote from Geneva:

"The general strike is rousing and rallying increasing masses of the working class and the urban poor. The arming of the people is becoming an immediate task of the revolutionary movement.

"Only an armed people can be the real bulwark for popular liberty."

In the preceding period Lenin had fought against the use of terror tactics by small groups of conspiratorial intellectuals who disregarded mass organisation. Now, however, in 1905-1906, Lenin wholeheartedly supported the use of guerrilla warfare in the cities by small groups of workers, which took place as part of the mass struggle, and the Bolsheviks themselves organised "fighting squads" everywhere. These units of three or four (and at times even more) had the task to create strong points for the open mass struggle; to spread the uprising to neighbouring districts and to establish complete political freedom, if only at first in a small part of the country.

Certainly, in South Africa, where cadres of Umkhonto We Sizwe can go inside the country and carry out combat operations like the assaults on Sasol or the Voortrekkerhoogte military base, it is quite possible to create temporary training bases in some houses or mountains (even if for the duration of a weekend) and train small groups of carefully selected people from the factory floor, village, migrant workers' hostel, university or high school. In this way the primary task of the many MK cadres would be to multiply themselves among the people inside the country rather than all of them doing the actual fighting at this stage.

This means that such combat units (at the initial stage) are part-time workers or students, as the case may be, and part-time guerrillas as well. Our guerrilla war shall have assimilated the strategy of "Arming the Masses" the day ordinary workers, peasants, students, etc, have been

given training in the Mzimkhulu, Nkandla or Knysna forests; or were instructed in some house in Soweto, Gugulethu, New Brighton or KwaMashu. Political work must be done sufficiently among the people so that they understand that "the unknown man in your midst is a freedom fighter".

The problem of police informers and administrative stooges (all of whom in fact constitute the major myth of the invincibility of the racist regime) will remain as long as the initiative of the liberation process has not been transferred from the leaders in exile to the local leadership inside the country as it arises in the crucible of the revolution. In spite of the enemy slander campaigns against revolutionary people, the masses know who are the real informers and stooges in their midst, and the people of South Africa have learned through bitter and sanguinary experience that to be indifferent to enemy agents is to create a fertile ground for their germination. Once a combat unit has been formed in a township, location or village, one of its major tasks is to mount an all-out elimination campaign against informers and police. No serious farmer continues to grow plants in a field full of rats. He first destroys them and causes others to run away before they can molest his plants. During the Sekhukhuniland revolt, police and administrative agents known as "Rangers" were the first target of the people, their houses were raided and burnt thus giving warning even to those who were still nursing hopes of serving the enemy. This elimination of informers and police is a very important tactical aspect in the implementation of the strategy of "Arming the Masses" since it generates a really free atmosphere in our residential areas to conduct political education, organisation and finally arming of the masses. Without the reign of racist stooges in our townships and villages, our areas shall indeed be semi-liberated zones.

The Question of Political Preparation

The danger of conducting any form of guerrilla activity in a territory which has not been prepared politically, has been well understood by the South African liberation movement. We cannot undermine the importance of the painstaking, slow and often imperceptible work of political education which the African National Congress and its allies have always conducted and will always conduct. It is actually through political mobilisation that we are even able to select the people who should form the combat units. When it is said that the guerrilla is a fish and the people are the water, we usually have in mind clean and fresh water. Political mobilisation and education of the masses is this process of cleaning water, not because at any stage the people are on the side of the enemy, but experience of guerrilla warfare (particularly in those situations where it has failed to win victory) teaches that mass support should not be assumed but should be ascertained concretely.

In a statement in August 1965 the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party said:

"Indeed, it should rather be said that without constant efforts to arouse the resistance and patriotic spirit of the people, activities of a purely military

character will become isolated from the people and bound therefore to fail. The real advantage of the liberation forces over the planes, armoured cars and other superior equipment of the enemy, is the support of the masses. This is our decisive weapon."⁶

Now this means that there is in fact a more urgent need to have among the people political organisers, agitators of the people, etc. — people who, so to say, put the manure and the fertilisers in the field. Before we can have these political organisers, we cannot talk of arming the masses in certain areas — I deliberately say "in certain areas" because, concretely speaking, there are now numerous areas in South Africa which need no longer wait before the creation of combat units, and Soweto is an example. Nevertheless, even in areas like Soweto, where already thousands of children have been killed, maimed or driven into exile, there is a need to ascertain and not merely to assume mass support; even here there is a need for political work, without which guerrillas cannot survive.

Stressing this need for political work among the masses, Eduardo Mondlane, talking of the experience of the struggle in Mozambique, said:

"We had to establish a clandestine political force within Mozambique to prepare the people for the difficult task of liberating the country . . . Certainly one of the most important departments is the one responsible for clandestine political work within Mozambique . . . They prepare for action everywhere — ahead of the army, with the army and after the army. They are responsible for formulating political lines and transmitting them to local leaders. They establish cells everywhere in Mozambique and make sure that each cell knows what it must do and how its function fits into the party's strategy for the liberation of the whole country."⁷

The other vital aspect necessitating constant political work among the masses is to involve the masses in the most varied forms of struggle in order to attack all possible features of the ruling class state power. The revolution cannot be conducted by combat units alone. At times the very success of the combat units is made possible by a multitudinous number of struggles like strikes, etc. Talking of the liberation struggle in Cuba, Blas Roca rightly comments:

"Even through the armed struggle was a decisive means for achieving the overthrow of the tyranny and the triumph of the revolution, we should not underestimate the role played by the other forms of struggle, which co-operated in achieving these ends. The constant struggles, large and small, which were carried on in the cities and fields, outside of the field of military operations, and agitation which went along with them, kept the repressive forces of the government in check, prevented them from concentrating against the guerrillas, politically influenced many members of the army and the police, disorganising these forces and tending to paralyse them. The actions and mobilisations of every type, in city and country, co-operated effectively in helping the Rebel Army to defeat the offensives of the army of tyranny and finally to win the battle for revolutionary power."⁸

In South Africa, let us not forget, conditions have to a great extent politically educated the big section of the oppressed. The generation of those who sent delegates to the Congress of the People that drafted the Freedom Charter in 1955 is still very much alive; this, in fact, is the generation that has given birth to the Soweto heroes like Solomon Mahlangu. Talking of political education of the masses in South Africa

can no longer mean attempting to make the people aware that they are oppressed or even that they need to fight — they are very much aware that they are oppressed; the 1980 political events are also only a small part of the testimony that they know they have to fight. The main question of political education and mobilisation at this time is the question of organisation and direction. This was the message written across the more than 20,000 angry faces who went to bury the comrades that fell at the Silverton Volskas Bank. Let us recall how Lenin criticised the schoolish approach to the question of the political education of the masses:

"When the bourgeois gentry and their uncritical echoers, the social-reformists, talk priggishly about the 'education' of the masses, they usually mean something schoolmasterly, pedantic, something that demoralises the masses and instils in them bourgeois prejudices.

"The real education of the masses can never be separated from their independent political, and especially revolutionary struggle. Only struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizons, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will."⁹

Enemy Reprisals — what then?

One problem of no less strategic importance is the inevitable racist counter-revolutionary measures. Logically, every action produces an equal and opposite reaction, and this is true not only for physics but also for the revolutionary science. In the history of revolutionary war, South Africa would be an exception if its ruling class did not unleash terror against the revolutionary movement and the people who support it. We must have no illusions about this question — if the racists react in the Soweto style to unarmed schoolchildren, if they can go to the scale of conventional warfare against the people of Angola because of the intensity of the armed struggle waged by SWAPO, we can only conclude that the people of South Africa may as well expect one of the worst repression measures that the world has ever experienced; there may be massacred villages, napalm-bombed townships, etc. There is nothing new about this in the history of liberation, there is no struggle without casualties.

Already the Pretoria fascists are murdering unarmed men, women and children even before we reply to them by our organised mass violence. To avoid arming the masses, therefore, for fear of the enemy's military reprisals, would only be a ridiculous way of ignoring our present annihilation by the fascist troops and police. When facing the problem of how to implement survival tactics, let us rather have arms in hand than be without arms, wondering how we can survive while the racists demonstrate their military prowess over our massacred children.

It may also be added in this connection that the enemy may not limit his counter-revolution to military action alone. His military chiefs have already indicated that four-fifths of the war effort must be devoted to win the hearts and minds of the people; he may therefore also include the carrot tactic of political reforms. It is noteworthy that the chief weakness of the guerrilla struggle led by the Malayan People's Liberation Army was both its inability to meet the imperialist carrot tactic of political and economic reform as well as their adoption of a defensive posture. In South Africa too, noting that it is finally not the Pretoria Boers but monopoly

capitalism that is really ruling the country, we may be faced with the necessity to adapt our tactics to cope with political reforms rather than brute military repression.

However, even if it is the military tactics rather than the political ones that the racists will adopt as their principal counter-revolution, if the form of people's warfare is guerrilla warfare, the people's war is bound to win in the end. "There is only one means of defeating an insurgent people who will not surrender," writes Robert Taber, "and that is extermination. There is only one method to control a territory that harbours resistance, and that is to turn it into a desert. Where these means cannot, for whatever reason, be used, the war is lost . . . That military victory against true guerrillas is possible seems doubtful on the basis of modern experience, barring the use of methods approaching genocide, as applied notably by the Germans in certain occupied countries during the Second World War."

The South African people, moreover, have at their advantage the overwhelming numerical superiority over the enemy. Because of his numerical weakness, the enemy cannot go beyond certain limits in mobilising the army of repression, whereas on the other hand the masses of the people can mobilise a guerrilla army thrice the size of the enemy's limits and still have numerous men and women engaged in other non-combat forms of struggle.

The people's combat activities must have the aim to take from the enemy, little by little, the enemy's ruling power; in this way it becomes possible to talk of certain areas as liberated areas, that is, at first from the political point of view. A situation is created where the enemy's administrative organs are completely destroyed, his administrative stooges sent scurrying away like scared reptiles, leaving the township, location or village a people's territory. When the enemy's administration and other repression offices have been destroyed, and troops who come to patrol are constantly gunned down by armed units at night; when the people stop paying rent and other taxes in the township (partly because the rent offices are no longer there), we can then get the people to elect, democratically, leaders who represent their aspirations — nearly in the same way that in countries like Italy and France you have whole districts controlled by the progressive forces. This is also possible in South Africa but under conditions brought about by political mobilisation accompanied by an irrevocably determined guerrilla struggle waged by armed groups.

Thus to theorise about the impossibility of having liberated zones in South Africa is only a cheap way to ignore the tasks that are facing us. Certainly, the liberated zones may not take the classical form of defended territories in the developed stage of guerrilla warfare, but it may be quite possible to talk of politically liberated Soweto, New Brighton, KwaMashu, Mondlo, Gugulethu, etc. from the point of view that it is no longer the enemy that has power in these areas but the people. This will be a very important stage in the process of the mobilisation of the masses.

Strike Action — How much Power?

Can strike action alone bring down the racist state in South Africa? Can any solution that excludes the use of arms succeed in liberating us?

A number of political analysts have written a lot about the havoc that can plague South Africa if the black working class withdraws its labour which is the backbone of the South African economy. However, possibilities of change must be viewed in relation to South Africa as it really is, and not, as so often happens, in relation to a theoretical model extracted from manuals.

Strikes will undoubtedly continue to teach the South African workers the importance of united action, engender a greater spirit of militancy as well as win significant economic and political gains. But a workers' strike that could produce radical political change of the nature envisaged in the Freedom Charter, that is, that could lead to the overthrow of the racist state, needs to be a general strike that would involve a great measure of organisation by the liberation movement. The extreme difficulty (in practical terms) for the banned organisations to build up mass support on an underground basis which an overthrow of the state by strike action alone would require cannot be overlooked. As long as the racist ruling class continues to command the absolute allegiance of the army of suppression, any talk of a nation-wide stay-at-home or strike alone leading to the overthrow of the Pretoria Boers would only be cheap talk — theoretically logical but practically invalid. Strike action now and in future, like all other forms of political struggle, will only enhance the South African revolution when supported by the determined revolutionary armed struggle of the whole people.

Lastly, it would be appropriate to quote from the ANC National Executive statement entitled: "The People Accept the Challenge of the Nationalists" dated April 6, 1963:

"The government will certainly be more ruthless than it has been. It already considers itself at war and is fighting a desperate battle. Every European citizen has been called to defend white supremacy. Whites have been called upon to sacrifice not only time and money but life itself.

"It would be criminal on our part not to prepare the Africans throughout the country on a similar scale. No one can afford to be neutral in this situation . . . The times have changed, we must make only one call, WE DEMAND FREEDOM OR DEATH, there can be no middle course."

References

- 1 V. I. Lenin, "The Assessment of the Russian revolution", Collected Works, vol. 15 p.54.
- 2 Jack Woddis, *New Theories of Revolution*, New York 1972, p.187.
- 3 Le Duan, *The Vietnamese Revolution*, Hanoi 1973, p.60.
- 4 Nelson Mandela, see *African Communist*, No. 83 Fourth Quarter, 1980.
- 5 V. I. Lenin, "The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia", *Vperiod* No. 4, January 31 (18), 1905.
- 6 *African Communist*, No. 22, 1965.
- 7 Eduardo Mondlane, *Tri-Continental Information Bulletin*, New York, Vol. 2 No. 1, January 1968, pp. 1, 3.
- 8 Blas Roca, *The Cuban Revolution*, Report of the Eighth National Congress of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, New York 1961, pp. 26-7.

- ⁹ V. I. Lenin, "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution", delivered on January 9 (22), 1917, at a meeting of young workers at the People's House in Zurich, Switzerland.
- ¹⁰ Robert Taber, *The War of the Flea*, Paladin St. Albans 1970, pp. 11, 23.

CSO: 4700/1373

VARIOUS REGULATIONS FOR INTERRACIAL SCHOOL SPORT PLANNED

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 18 May 82 pp 11-12

[Text] In an article in the latest issue of DIE UNIE, the organ of the South African Education Union the statement is made that sport contact at a school level between whites and coloreds "has already entered the political arena" and that it remains the democratic right of a parent to decide what is good or not in school sport for his child.

The article consists of a memorandum drafted by the South African Education Association and titled: Pupil Participation in Sport Activities. The object of the memorandum is "to give guidance in...sport contacts at a school level between whites and coloreds" to Afrikaans-speaking educators.

According to that, sport in schools is a means of education, a coincidental educational matter, a means of contact above cultural boundaries (for example between Afrikaans, Jewish and English schools) as well as a means established for the purpose of serving the interests of the child. If it is not treated as such then it has no right to exist in the school.

Separated

Under the heading "School Sport in a Broader Sense" the assertion is made that school sport must serve the interests of the country on a broad scope.

Sport contact at a school level between whites and coloreds has already gotten into the political arena and it is the democratic right of the parent to decide what is good or bad for his child. The diplomatic immunity of children of diplomats or of ambassadors from black states or homelands is managed in the white schools.

School sport within and outside the school context must be separated and it can only be expected that the Department of Education in the various provinces be the one to provide facilities for the exercise of the sport within the school context. In the event that the school sport has an "unpedagogical" effect in the formation of the child then measures are to be expected.

It is being recommended that the necessary controlling entities be created for managing school sport between whites and coloreds, within the school

context. Within a certain district there will have to be a league or competition in which only white and colored students, and students of black and Indian schools will compete with each other.

Arrangements

Besides this there is also to be a mixed league in which white, colored, black and Indian schools can participate. Wherever there are colored students in schools, these schools can choose where they want to be included.

"A parent who simply gives permission that his child may take part in a white competition will have his wishes taken into consideration and provisions will be made for this. Those schools which do not want to participate in mixed competitions will also have their wishes taken under consideration and they will not be included in the competition in question."

Rugby is being mentioned as an example and according to the memorandum the various controlling entities must make arrangements among themselves for those instances where students are involved in more than one competition.

7964

CSO: 4701/72

SAFA ACCUSES SACOS OF OBSTRUCTING COLORED SOCCER

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jun 82 p 11

[Article by Billy Cooper]

[Excerpts] **THE South African Football Association, (SAFA) a coloured affiliated body of the Football Council of South Africa has accused the South African Council of Sport (Sacos) of hampering with the development of sport in Coloured schools.**

In a hard hitting statement at a Johannesburg Press conference on Saturday Safa chairman, Donny Gilmour, challenged Sacos and its president Hassan Howa to a man-to-man showdown to thrash out the issue.

Safa has made an appeal to the Coloured community to unite and accept the facilities offered by Safa which Mr Gilmour claims could help develop the Coloured youth in all sporting fields.

"We are not asking any of our youth to join us but simply to accept the coaching and financial help we have at our disposal," said Mr Gilmour.

Mr Gilmour alleges that Sacos have been behind a campaign in the Coloured townships

and at primary and high schools intimidating both teachers and pupils from making use of Safa's aid.

Safa have called on all teachers to come out in the open and support Safa's case. "Sacos are not as strong as they make out they are at school level and if we can get an united front in this issue I believe it can be of tremendous benefit to our young sportsmen."

Mr Gilmour claims that because of Sacos' interference little progress is being made in promising Coloured sportsmen and women.

"Sacos offers no coaching and does nothing to encourage our youth. All we want is for every body to get a chance of using the coaches and financial assistance we can provide," Mr Gilmour said.

The FCSA under its coaching director Roy Bailey has a top-class football coaching programme but due to Sacos refusal to have any thing to do with the FCSA no up-and-coming young Coloured footballers have been able to benefit from this programme.

"Sacos shout about practising non racialism but frankly we believe they do not prac-

tice what they preach in this regard," Mr Gilmour said.

"Sellouts"

He added that Safa were very disappointed in the people who put up placards in the Coloured areas this week claiming that Safa were "sellouts".

CSO: 4700/1366

BRIEFS

NEW LOGISTICS COMMAND--The Army has established a logistic command which will in future be responsible for the reception, storage, maintenance and supply of equipment to units. The new command will be headed by Brigadier Andrew Botes, former Director of Army Stores. Command of the unit was handed over to him in Pretoria yesterday by the Chief of the Army, Lieut-Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, at a special parade at Defence Force headquarters. The army said that whereas in the past logistic units fell directly under the command of the Chief of the Army, they were now grouped together under the new command. "This organisational change does not imply a change in the system of logistic supply, but is part of the process of streamlining the organisation of the army. "An important task of the new command will be the reception, storage and maintenance and the supply to the distribution organisation in the SA Army of certain categories of equipment and stores. "Another important aspect of the functions of the command is technical maintenance and repair of vehicles and certain equipment. The command will handle equipment worth hundreds of millions of rands.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 82 p 8]

NEW NATIONAL MONUMENTS--Two new national monuments have been declared in the Transvaal--the former residence of a British army officer and a church. A British garrison was stationed in Potchefstroom from 1902 until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The General's House, as the commanding officer's home was known, was the only one in the entire military camp which was built of brick. In 1923 the camp was taken over by the Witrand Care and Rehabilitation Centre and the General's House became known, as it still is, as the Superintendent's Residence. The little church which has been declared a national monument was consecrated by the first Anglican Bishop of Pretoria in Wakkerstroom in 1890. It was called St Mark's Church, but as the Anglican community in Wakkerstroom dwindled, the church was sold to the Old Apostolic Church of Africa, which still uses it as a place of worship. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 82 p 8]

GRAIN ELEVATOR BLAST--A grain elevator was slightly damaged in an explosion at the Natal Agricultural Co-operative in Vryheid on Saturday night. The blast occurred shortly after midnight. Fire broke out but was soon extinguished, a police spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday. An explosive device is thought to have been the cause of the blast, but the spokesman declined to comment on the possibility of sabotage until forensic tests had been undertaken. No-one was injured, and the police are investigating, the spokesman said. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 7 Jun 82 p 12]

PLEA FOR FINGO GROUP--The General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday appealed on behalf of a Fingo community in the Eastern Cape which "may soon be formally be deprived by legislation of their ancestral home." Parliament would soon decide whether finally to remove the land of Fingo people in the Humansdorp-Tsitsikamma area, he said. He called on all churches to pray earnestly for the community starting on Sunday. The community was forced from its land four years ago "and reallocated in a Bantustan where their families have been broken up by migrant labour. "Every effort by the people to be allowed to return has been to no avail," he said. "May each Member of Parliament understand fully the gravity of the decision and bear in mind the command to deal justly," Bishop Tutu said.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 82 p 8]

MAIL TO TROOPS--The Defence Force has introduced a new border postal system which will ensure that mail reaches the troops in the SWA/Namibia operational area in less than half the time it used to take under the old system. From July 1, all mail, letters and parcels will be flown twice weekly to points along the border by the Air Force. Under the old system, most of the mail was transported by rail and road from Windhoek and Grootfontein. The SADF handles about 9-million postal items a year.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 82 p 8]

BLACKS TO BE MAYORS--The select committee on the constitution tabled a comprehensive list of amendments to the Black Local Authorities Bill. The Bill, introduced by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, earlier in the session is one of three pieces of legislation aimed at improving the circumstances of urban Blacks. Before second reading the Bill was referred to the select committee on the constitution under the chairmanship of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis. Organisations which submitted written representations on the Bill--providing for the establishment of local committees, village and town councils for Blacks--included Inkatha, the Department of Co-operation and Development, the SA Institute for Public Administration and the Urban Foundation. Among the amendments proposed by the committee is that the heads of elected Black local authorities be designated mayoys and deputy mayoys instead of chairmen and deputy chairmen as proposed in the original Bill.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 82 p 4]

PIG IRON OUTPUT--Output of pig iron for the first quarter of 1982 showed an increase of 2,5 percent, compared with the same period a year ago, according to Seifsa. South Africa steel mills output for the first quarter of 1982, reflecting the continuing depressed export sales, showed a marginal increase on the same period a year ago. The ferro alloys manufacturing industries, together with the producers of manganese and silicon metals, advised that their first quarter output reflected an overall 13,0 percent increase compared with the very low production levels of the same period a year ago. Reasonable gains in the output of ferro manganese and ferro silicon were offset by a 3,3 percent drop in the output of the export-intensive ferro chromium sector and a decrease of some 20 percent in production levels of the manganese and silicon metals section. The first quarter output for iron castings, an important sector of South African foundry activity, reflected a decrease of 14,0 percent, compared with the same period a year ago. Tonnages reported for steel castings showed an increase of 3,5 percent and non-ferrous castings reported a 15,0 percent improvement on last year's comparative period.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 82 p 17]

NEW COLLEGE PLANNED--A multi-million rand college of education, technology and business management is being planned for the Ga'rankuwa/Mabopane area. The college--expected to be completed by 1985--will be an integral part of the University of Bophuthatswana, the rector, Professor E Makhene, said yesterday. A site between Ga'rankuwa and Mabopane had been acquired for the college. The planned college will be known as the Odi Campus of the University of Bophuthatswana.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 82 p 11]

PETROLEUM EXPORT VIOLATION--Pretoria--It was the purpose of the Reconstituted Nationalist Party and of its newspaper DIE AFRIKANER to shock the public with the publication of a confidential Telex from the South African Railroads regarding the export of SASOL [South African Coal, Gas and Oil Corporation] fuel to South Africa's neighboring countries. This was the testimony presented here yesterday by Mr Louis Stofberg, chief secretary of the party. He was testifying in the case in which the party's chief executive, Mr Jaap Marais, had to appear on the charge that he violated the Act on Petroleum Products. In pursuance with this act no information may be published on the origin and production of petroleum products or over negotiations or the transportation of petrol. The maximum penalty for such a violation is a fine of 7,000 rand or 7 years in jail. Mr Marais (59), who resides at Van Soelenstraat, Rietondale, Pretoria, denied guilt. The case has been postponed to 21 May. [Text] [Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 12 May 82 p 4] 7964

CSO: 4701/65

LIST OF MUSLIM COMMUNITY BUREAU OFFICIALS PUBLISHED

Ouagadougou L'OBSERVATEUR in French 27 Apr 82 pp 1, 10-11

[Text] The General Assembly of the Upper Volta Muslim Community met on 15, 16, 17, and 18 April 1982. The four days' deliberations are reported in a document that will be published in due course. But we can say as of now that several Community authorities have been revised during the meetings, namely, the National Council, the Islamic Councillors, and the Executive Council.

We offer the names of members of the various authorities.

Bureau of the National Council

President: El Hadj Aboubacar Tiemtore (Grand Imam of Ouagadougou)

First vice president: Dr Amadou Boly

Second vice president: El Hadj Moussa Derme

Third vice president: Ousseni Ouedraogo

Secretary general: Dr Nouhoun Sigue

Assistants: El Hadj Ousmane Ouedraogo (Kaya)

Abdoulaye Ouedraogo (Ouahigouya)

Sinahy Djibo (Ouagadougou)

Honorary Presidents:

First: Colonel Saye Zerbo

Second: Moro-Naba Kougri

List of Islamic Councillors

1 El Hadj Abdou Salam Kiemtore (Grand Imam Ouagadougou)

2 Saidou Sawadogo (Nagarogo Kaya)

3 Narhaba Sanogo (Bobo-Dioulasso)

5 El Hadj Ousmane Kabore (Ouagadougou)

6 El Hadj Boubacar Karibinda

7 Sheikh Adama Gansore (Hamadalaye-Tikare)

8 Skeikh Sanoussa Sakande (Sarana)

9 El Hadj Gaoussou Traore ((Tougan)

10 El Hadj Ali Traore (Bobo-Dioulasso)

11 El Hadj Ali Traore (Bobo-Dioulasso)

- 12 El Hadj Mahamadi Maiga (Kougrissega)
- 13 El Hadj Hamadou Sanfo (Sagabtenga)
- 14 El Hadj Boubacar Ouedraogo (Nouna)
- 15 Goral (Dori)
- 16 El Hadj Daouda Kontongomde (Ouagadougou)
- 17 El Hadj Abdourahamane Sissao (Kaya)
- 18 Sheikh Adama (Tama)
- 19 El Hadj Soumailia Ouedraogo (Ouhaigouya)
- 20 M'Biri Konate (Safane)
- 21 Salia Sanou (Imama at Bobo-Dioulasso)
- 22 El Hadj Assini Sanogo (Lanfiera)
- 23 El Hadj Zakaria (Djibo)
- 24 Sheikh Doukoure Mamadou Lamine (Djibo)
- 25 El Hadj Mamadou Abdoulaye Sanfarou Selba
- 26 El Hadj Soumaila Ouedraogo (Kaya)
- 27 Adama Ouedraogo (Kongoussi)
- 28 Sheikh Mahama Belem (Tak Yala)
- 29 Sheikh Abdoul Salam de Reo
- 30 Sheikh Ahmadou Ouedraogo (Namsiguiya-Kongoussi)
- 31 El Hadj Imam Abdoul Assane Sanfo (Mano)
- 32 El Hadj Drissa Sanou (Bobo-Dioulasso)
- 33 El Hadj Djibrill Diallo (Bobo-Dioulasso)
- 34 El Hadj Sanoussa Sakande (Srana)
- 35 El Hadj Kalifa Sanou (Comoe)
- 36 El Hadj Belgo Cisse (Djibo)
- 37 El Hadj Souahibou Cisse (Djibo)
- 38 El Hadj Nabile Mossi de Laye
- 39 El Hadj Hama Yero (Namounou)
- 40 El Hadj Imam Mahamadi de Tiemtore (Zam Zorgho)
- 41 El Hadj Boureima Soulonga Sawadogo (Ouagadougou)
- 42 Inoussa de Konate (To-Leo)
- 43 El Hadj Mahama de Kabore (Sourougou-Koudougou)
- 44 El Hadj Tiko de Rabo (Ziniare)
- 45 El Hadj Saidou Tiem tore (Garango)
- 46 El Hadj Sienou Lassane (To-Leo)
- 47 El Hadj Imam Konate (To-Leo)
- 48 El Hadj Issaka (To-Leo)
- 49 Moussa Dembele (Bobo-Dioulasso)
- 50 Noufou Kouanda (Boulsa)
- 51 Issa Dawinde

Session Chairman: Dr Amadou Boly
 Session Secretary: Abdoulaye Ouedraogo

Bureau of the Executive Council:

President: El Hadj Oumarou Kanazoe
 First vice president in charge of domestic relations: El Hadj Dr Bala Traore

Second vice president in charge of domestic relations: El Hadj Dramane Sanou
First vice president in charge of foreign relations: El Hadj Malik Zorome
Second vice president in charge of foreign relations: El Hadj Moussa Toure
First vice president in charge of teaching and education: El Hadj Baba Kabore
Second vice president in charge of teaching and education: El Hadj Boukare Kouanda
First vice president in charge of Islamic affairs: El Hadj Sidiki Ouedraogo
Second vice president in charge of Islamic affairs: El Hadj Yacouba Ouedraogo
First vice president in charge of pilgrimage: El Hadj Lassina Traore
Second vice president in charge of pilgrimage: El Hadj Moussa Kouraogo

Secretary general: El Hadj Bery Sidi Boly
First assistant secretary general: El Hadj Hamadou Konate
Second assistant secretary general: His excellency Daouda Diallo
Third assistant secretary general: El Hadj Arouna Sana
Fourth assistant secretary general: El Hadj Baba Sidiki Kontongombe

Treasurer general: El Hadj Saidou Traore
First assistant treasurer general: El Hadj Saidou Ouedraogo
Second assistant treasurer general: El Hadj Abdoulaye Tapsoba
Third assistant treasurer general: Hampouni Yonli
Fourth assistant treasurer general: El Hadj Saidou Tapsoba

Commissioner general for teaching and education: El Hadj Toumani Triande
First assistant commissioner general for teaching and education: Dr Fatie Traore
Second assistant commissioner general for teaching and education: Aoussou Sanou
Third assistant commissioner general for teaching and education: El Hadj Tassere Congo
Fourth assistant commissioner general for teaching and education: Mr Boukary Tapsoba
Fifth assistant commissioner general for teaching and education: El Hadj Oumarou Kouanda
Sixth assistant commissioner general for teaching and education: El Hadj Karim Ouedraogo

Secretary general for organization: El Hadj Issa Bonkougou
First assistant secretary general for organization: El Hadj Boureima Dera
Second assistant secretary general for organization: El Hadj Saidou Sasse Ouedraogo
Third assistant secretary general for organization: El Hadj Hamidou Diallo
Fourth assistant secretary general for organization: Mr Hamado Tiendrebeogo
Fifth assistant secretary general for organization: El Hadj Yero Tall

Secretary general for information and propaganda: El Hadj Toubana Diarra
First assistant secretary general for information and propaganda: El Hadj Issa Tapsoba

Second assistant secretary general for information and propaganda: El Hadj Oumarou Dicko

Third assistant secretary general for information and propaganda:

Fourth assistant secretary general for information and propaganda:

El Hadj Souleymane Derra

Fifth assistant secretary general for information and propaganda:

El Hadj Ousmane Conombo

Sixth assistant secretary general for information and propaganda:

El Hadj Moussa Sankara

Commissioner general for youth: El Hadj Hamado Pitroipa

First assistant commissioner for youth: Rasidou Yoda

Second assistant commissioner for youth: El Hadj Rasmane Sawadogo

Third assistant commissioner for youth: El Hadj Moussa Yugo

Fourth assistant commissioner for youth: El Hadj Ousseni Ouedraogo

Fifth assistant commissioner for youth: Mr Issaka Deme

Sixth assistant commissioner for youth: El Hadj Sydi Cisse

Commissioner general for pilgrimage: El Hadj Issouf Kabore

First assistant commissioner general for pilgrimage: El Hadj Tassere Kouanda

Second assistant commissioner general for pilgrimage: El Hadj Dr Issouf Kabore

Third assistant commissioner general for pilgrimage: El Hadj Moumouni Kafando

Fourth assistant commissioner general for pilgrimage: El Hadj Kassoum Deme

Fifth assistant commissioner general for pilgrimage: El Hadj Abdoulaye Ouedraogo

Commissioner general for state territorial matters: El Hadj Salif Compaore

First assistant commissioner general for state territorial matters: Saidou Compaore

Second assistant commissioner general for state territorial matters:

El Hadj Brahma Cessouma

Auditors:

El Hadj Alaludi Hama

El Hadj Idrissa Kabore

El Hadj Harouna Zarani

The member of the Constitutive Council of the World Islamic League is an ex-officiomember of the Executive Council as a Muslim of Upper Volta

Done at Ouagadougou, 18 April 1982

Session chairman: Dr Amadou Boly Session secretary: Abdoulaye Ouedraogo

12149

CSO: 4719/902

KAUNDA VISITS OFFICE OF NCDP FOR FIRST TIME

Kaunda's, Chidumayo's Statements, Sianga's Poem

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 29 May 82 p 1

[Text] **PRESIDENT Kaunda has urged the National Commission for Development Planning to work out ideas which must be implemented for the benefit of people in all parts of the country.**

Speaking before he held a working session with the NCDP Minister Dr Henry Mebeelo and his staff which included directors and deputy directors, Dr Kaunda said the work of the commission was not an easy one.

The commission had a difficult job in that it had to choose from many demands of the people which must be met from limited resources, both human and material.

He told workers that as chairman of the commission, he deliberately did not frequent the institution as this would give the impression that he did not trust them.

He hoped they would grow in their jobs and use their talents for the benefit of people who were the masters.

He was delighted to visit the commission which, he said, was a "very important centre."

Chairman of the Party committee at the commission Mrs Suya Chidumayo said the visit by Dr Kaunda was a

great moment for all workers at the institution.

Workers valued the visit because it gave them great inspiration and boosted their morale.

She said the ailing economic situation in the country had made the work of the NCDP even more difficult.

From the submissions the commission received, it was clear that people's demands had risen while financial resources had declined.

Social planning could help bring about greater achievements. "There is need for socialist planners to attend courses in socialist countries."

She informed the President that 18 district planning units would be opened this year.

Despite strong resistance and unpopularity the commission was facing, it was determined to implement Party and Government policies, she said and later presented Dr Kaunda with a miniature hoe and a statue of a woman pounding maize.

And one of the economist at the commission Mr Stephen Sianga read a poem to the President dedicated to scientific socialism.

It reads:

In the bush a rugged hoe misses a rugged tree

In the town station a teenager shouts his lungs out

The hunger bites deeper and pushes them on

In the office, His Excellency Dr K.D. Kaunda rakes his brains

Too many problems and too many solutions

Too many hungry and too many unemployed

Too many disillusioned and too many defections.

His solutions or rather his attempts demand scientific socialism,

The peasant and the teenager understand not

The defenders of neo-colonialism stand firm

The bishop distorts it

The capitalist maliciously condemns it

The solutions become targets of anger:

Why? asks the worker

The leader learns a lesson and stands firm,

The hungry, the disillusioned, the exploited, the oppressed look to him with begging faces

To them he is the saviour and the feeder

They want him to do his job
All the progressives and history are with us: we move forward with scientific socialism.

Nation Expects Results from NCDP

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 29 May 82 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] A POEM was read to President Kaunda in Lusaka yesterday when he visited the offices of the National Commission for Development Planning of which he is chairman. The poem, from Tennyson, read:

"So many worlds, so much to do,
so little done, such things to be."
That was indeed a very powerful message.

If anything, and for the benefit of the protesting churches, that is the language of scientific socialism.

In any given country or institution, planning is the key to success. Unfortunately in Zambia, only until recently have we given planning its rightful place. Hitherto it has been haphazard.

Since Independence in 1964 planning in Zambia has shifted from one ministry to another with confused results.

To give it the necessary impetus and a new dimension it was turned into a commission in 1980 under the chairmanship of President Kaunda.

But the President's visit to the commission's headquarters yesterday was very significant. It was the first time he has done so since its establishment in 1980.

By his own admission yesterday he had in the past, "deliberately not visited it regularly" perhaps to avoid creating the impression that he did not trust the many planners there.

The high point of his visit there yesterday was to clearly demonstrate his grave concern for the developmental planning process of the nation. This is shown by the pledge he made to the workers.

From now on he is going to visit the commission's headquarters every month and, if not possible, on a quarterly basis. Has something gone drastically wrong now with the planning commission to warrant that much of the President's time?

The National Commission for Development Planning (NCDP) is supposed to be a super structure looking at the developmental needs of the entire nation through the various agencies.

But there are worrying questions about its very existence and about its work so far. Is it true that it may be operating illegally; that it has no legal backing; that it is not established under an Act of Parliament?

What answers has it to the challenge that it has so far been acting merely as a conveyor belt of international capital to the Zambian off-shoots of that international capital, the so-called local "dissident" Zambian entrepreneurs?

Is it true that there is no project as such being undertaken by any Government agency like the Public Works Department (PWD) other than by the parastatals who also sub-contract to private companies with outside loyalties?

Why is it anybody's guess how transactions are done from the NCDP through the tender board to the recipient parastatal and on to the private sub-contractors?

A specific example is that of the NCDP itself. It is putting up an office complex costing over K200,000. The complex is to be commissioned any time from now. And yet the builder of the complex is a private company.

with serious connections with South Africa.

Surely couldn't the Ministry of Works and Supply have carried out this particular project and thus provide employment to Government planners, bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters at minimal cost to the Party and its Government?

Already there is a very big problem over international loans that have been offered to Zambia through the NCDP.

So many loans have been negotiated for, but nothing seems to be really taking off in terms of real development and our much avowed food production programme.

The over K90 million French loan has seemingly been diverted to buying French Renault buses and Peugeot cars for Tours and Lodges. The West German loan for over K82 million appears to

have been shared among local companies with strong connections with West Germany.

This is a clear indication that national planning which has been going on so far has just been transporting international capital to local proteges.

Meanwhile, what cadre do we have at the NCDP to assist Zambia to overcome these contradictions and help her realise her goals according to the philosophy of Humanism? How credible are our planners and how seriously are they looking at the nation's developmental problems? How qualified are they?

The NCDP is in charge of the nation's capital Budget. How much does it know of the aspirations of the people? Is it involving the people or merely projecting for them from its drawing tables in Lusaka? How does it define the nation's priorities?

Is the NCDP able to interpret national projects politically? It is most welcome that Dr Kaunda will now be visiting the NCDP regularly. The nation expects results and not stories from NCDP.

MULEMBA SAYS FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT DECISIONS MAJOR UNIP WEAKNESS

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 29 May 82 p 1

[Excerpt] ONE of the major weaknesses of the Party is its failure to implement decisions and resolutions reached at various meetings, Party Secretary-General Mulemba said yesterday.

Officially opening a seminar for Party committees at places of work attended by ward leaders at Lusaka's Mulungushi Hall, Mr Mulemba said that failure had led to a continuous discussion of the same problems at different Party forums.

It was because of that he appreciated the seminar as it would go a long way in increasing Party leaders' awareness on their role in the development of Zambia.

Party committees should be taken seriously because if effectively organised they could strengthen the Party and lead to increased productivity.

It was the Party's conviction that both workers and management had a vital role to play in the development of the economy but he noted that the goal could not be realised in the absence of effective and well organised Party committees.

He regretted that some companies in Zambia viewed Party committees with suspicion because they thought they were there to spy on them or take over their powers.

The duty of Party committees was to ensure that enterprises operated within Party

policies, ensure discipline, instil political education among workers and to counter subversive activities and damage to company property.

Since Independence it had been the Party's objective to develop and sustain all the five areas of human endeavour.

● The Party has announced new election regulations in which veto powers have been delegated to ward, district and provincial committees.

Freedom House administrative secretary and Member of the Central Committee Mr Axon Soko announced the regulations in a supplement to the latest issue of the **Government Gazette**.

Under the new regulations, the Central Committee has delegated powers of approving candidates for Party elections to the ward committee for approval of candidates seeking election to section committee.

Powers have also been given to the provincial committees for approval of candidates seeking election to ward committees.

MINISTER SAYS UNZA MUST INCREASE OUTPUT OF MEDICAL GRADUATES

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 31 May 82 p 1

[Text] IT will take Zambia between 65 and 80 years to produce the required number of doctors unless the University of Zambia increased its output of medical graduates, Ministry of Health permanent secretary Dr Joseph Kasonde said in Kitwe at the weekend.

The present ratio of doctors to the population was one doctor to 9,000 persons but the required ratio was at least one doctor to 3,000 people.

Of the total 700 doctors in the country, only 200 were Zambians at least 2,000 Zambian doctors a year should be trained for the situation to be satisfactory.

Dr Kasonde, who was addressing an annual general meeting of the Zambia Medical Association, northern branch in Kitwe, said of the 30 to 40 medical graduates from the University of Zambia every year, only 20 to 30 were Zambians.

"At this rate it would take 65 to 80 years to achieve (the country's medical) objective and who knows what the population of Zambia will be in 80 years?"

There was need for the university to increase its output of medical graduates, to monitor and guide post-graduate training doctors and

to increase the use of para-medical personnel throughout the country.

To monitor the implementation of the three priorities, the Ministry of Health set up an appropriate procedure two years ago which had a manpower development committee headed by himself and which consisted of representatives from various medical fields inside and outside the country.

"This committee meets quarterly and reviews the output at various categories as a basis for planned training."

The committee, he said had three sub-committees, the para-medical sub committees, a sub-committee on pharmacists and a nursing sub-committee.

CSO: 4700/1375

MINISTER: FOREIGNERS WITH RESIDENT STATUS IMPEDE ZAMBIANIZATION

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 2 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] FOREIGNERS enjoying resident status have become a serious impediment to effective **Zambianisation**.

Minister of State for Labour and Social Services Mr Cosmas Masongo said this in an interview yesterday in which he urged the Government to review the **Zambianisation** policy.

For the policy to be more meaningful, it must have legal backing to make the decisions of the **Zambianisation** committee binding and effective.

"We must have physical **Zambianisation**, not the kind of **Zambianisation** where aliens cling to jobs just because they enjoy resident status."

If aliens wanted to be **Zambian** residents, they should find their own jobs where they would not deprive **Zambians** of a livelihood or position.

Mr Masongo who is responsible for implementing the policy said in the past, the **Zambianisation** committee had not been getting to the root cause of the problems of **Zambianisation**.

"I now have the facts and I would like the assistance of the Party and its Government to implement my programme by removing stumbling blocks from my path."

Emphasising the need for a law to back up **Zambianisation**, he said policy alone was

not enough because although the committee might have the powers, it needed legal backing to seal its decisions.

"The law should force some people out. These people have remained in jobs which could be done by **Zambians** for years just because they have powerful full-backs and the committee cannot remove them because they have resident status.

"I am bitter and worried about this protective resident status because people enjoying this are even more arrogant than expatriates. I am fed up with this set up because I cannot move."

BADEA TO CONTINUE 'PROPPING UP INVESTMENTS' IN DBZ

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] THE Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA) has renewed its pledge to continue propping up investments into the Development Bank of Zambia.

Only weeks ago DBZ was singled out as one of the few African development banks that continued to run at reasonable profit and offer dividends to shareholders.

The pledge was given by African Development Bank (ADB) president Mr Willa Mung'omba at Mulungushi Hall during the signing of a K10 million loan agreement between the ADB and the DBZ.

And the BADEA's 1981 annual report just released in Lusaka recalls that in contrast to the profit of about K87,500 made by DBZ in 1975 the latest result underlined the bank's dynamism and sound management.

The operations of the DBZ which registered a net income in the region of about K2,625 million in the financial year ended March 31 last year had been highly profitable, the report says.

"According to projections till 1986, the financial results of the institution (DBZ) should continue to be good."

The long term debt/capital ratio, at present standing at one could attain four in 1986

— 400 per cent being the ceiling authorised by such international agencies for local development banks — which highlights the scope of the bank's borrowing power.

The report confirms BADEA's board of directors' report after their meeting in Khartoum last November that Zambia was one of several African countries to benefit from loans totalling K40 million extended by BADEA.

In its Press release issued later in the same month the Arab Bank lent Zambia K10 million and praised DBZ for its sound operations and making good nett profits.

Similar assertion is contained in the BADEA's annual report which adds that Arab Bank's facility, to be reinvested by the DBZ, has been granted in the form of a K10 million line of credit on nine years maturity (after three years grace period) and annual interest at the rate of eight per cent.

Earned

"The DBZ's general good health, and its role in investment promotion have earned it the support of such leading development institutions as the World Bank, the KFW and the European Investment Bank," the report says.

The line of credit will help investment activity of the DBZ which was established in 1972 and specialised in agriculture, agro-industrial and industrial development. The bank began operations in January 1974.

The Zambian bank aims to promote investments, by supplying medium and long-term credits and equity participation in such sectors as manufacturing, agro-industry, transport, energy, tourism and mining.

By June last year, DBZ has 200 loans with a total commitment of about K116 million. In the course of the financial year ended March last year, DBZ considerably accelerated the pace of its operations, supporting 70 projects with a total commitment of about K49 million, the report says.

SIDA DIRECTOR RAPS DELAY IN GOVERNMENT'S SENDING OF FUNDS TO PROJECTS

Director's Interview

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 1 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] THE Swedish International Development Authority is concerned at the "endemic" inability of the Zambian Government to promptly channel the SIDA's financial contributions to designated projects.

And unless the Government allowed cooperative unions to market crops at economical prices, the co-operative movement would collapse.

Speaking in an exclusive interview with the *Times of Zambia* before he left at the end of his two-week visit, SIDA director-general Mr Anders Forsse, said yesterday his organisation had been urging the Government to streamline its channeling of funds for more than three years.

SIDA found it difficult to justify before the Swedish government and parliament why its budget of cooperation with the Government should be increased if funds already donated were baulked in the administrative machinery.

"One of the problems we have found in our carrying out our cooperation agreements is that the routine practised by Zambian authorities when channeling out financial contributions to agree upon projects has been less than efficient.

The money was not deviated to other projects neither did it go missing but SIDA's concern was that it took a long time to reach its destination.

The delay was evident both in the way the Government dealt with payments from contributions from SIDA for local expenditure in terms of wages and rent and for foreign payments.

In his discussions with various Zambian officials he had been assured the matter was worrying the Government too and efforts to remedy the situation were being made.

He said this assurance was also given to him by President Kaunda when he met him at State House on Sunday.

NCDP Mismanaging International Loans, Grants

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 2 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] AGAIN today we take issue with our planners at the National Commission for Development Planning (NCDP), not out of malice, but out of a genuine grave concern about its operations so far.

On Monday, quick in the footsteps of our week-end comments, came the publicly expressed anger from an honoured Swedish guest after his two-week visit to Zambia.

He was none other than Mr Anders Forsse, the director-general of the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA).

He was openly riled with, and said SIDA was concerned at the "endemic" inability of Zambia to promptly channel SIDA's financial contributions to designated projects.

That could only be pointing to the red tape in the NCDP, for which Zambia has not only shamefully been disgraced, but also as a result of which Zambia may well lose the international goodwill she now wastefully enjoys.

Zambia has at present bilateral aid agreements with 24 countries: one in Africa, two in the Middle East; three in Asia;

two in the Americas; and 16 in Europe.

She also has multilateral aid agreements with nine international aid agencies.

Out of all these all the aid that Zambia receives from Sweden is in form of grants. Swedish aid is one of the best Zambia has enjoyed. It is widespread and progressively generous.

So when the SIDA chief complains and is angry with Zambia, we should take serious stock of the operations of the NCDP. SIDA's complaint is shared not only by most donor nations, but also by many concerned Zambians. So many loans have been signed but speedy and proper utilisation of those loans and grants is terribly lacking.

That points to a state of confusion at NCDP as to what the nation's priorities are; how to plan for the nation as a whole; where to site already determined projects; how to carry out local feasibility studies for those projects; and from which countries to shop for the necessary finance.

From the ad hoc manner in which things are going, it appears that the NCDP has scuttled Zambia's Third National Development Plan (TNDP), which should

be our "bible" for development.

Are the projects now being negotiated for under that plan? What inventory is taken of the TNDP and what mechanism has the NCDP to ensure that a proper schedule for projects is followed and the TNDP adhered to?

As it is we have allowed the donor countries to dictate to us where they want to invest and why, and to carry out feasibility studies at great cost to the nation. Projects are not fairly distributed.

The West Germans have concentrated their aid in the North-Western Province; the Dutch in the Western Province; the Swedes in Western and

Eastern provinces; the EEC in Luapula and Northern provinces; the British in Central and Northern provinces etc.

Is this not allowing a new "scramble" for Zambia? Is the Party and its Government aware of the possible dangers of this type of balkanising Zambia through NCDP's mismanagement of international loans and grants?

We should all help President Kaunda in ensuring that henceforth the NCDP carries its enormous task speedily and in the spirit of "One Zambia, One Nation".

CSO: 4700/1375

PERFORMANCE OF ECONOMY DURING THIRD QUARTER 'SLUGGISH'

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 1 Jun 82 p 4

[Text] INADEQUATE foreign exchange caused by continued low copper prices and cobalt sales contributed largely to the sluggish performance of Zambia's economy during the third quarter of last year.

The latest issue of the quarterly **Financial and Statistical Review** of the Bank of Zambia says many industries were affected and operated below capacity because of the shortages of imported raw materials and other inputs.

The unfavourable foreign exchange position was evidenced by unsatisfactory external payments resulting in a deficit in the balance of payments.

Other developments in the economy during the third quarter of 1981 included increases in total domestic credit and total money supply and the persistent shortfall between Government expenditure and revenue.

Copper production declined from 148,000 tonnes at the end of the second quarter in June to 140,000 tonnes at the end of the third quarter while cobalt output fell from 735 tonnes to 486 tonnes during the same period.

Total expenditure which rose by 78 per cent during the quarter represented an improvement of 12 per cent on the corresponding quarter of the previous year.

As a result of these movements, the report says, the deficit of K40.6 million during

the quarter was much smaller when compared with deficits of K77.6 million and K99.6 million during the previous quarter and the corresponding quarter of 1980 respectively.

The various Government receipts indicate that the largest share consisted of those from income tax followed by taxes on domestic goods and services which occupied the second position.

Taxes on foreign trade occupied the third position and the report observes that at K99 million receipts from income tax accounted for some 40 per cent of the total.

At this level income tax receipts rose by 22 per cent compared to the second quarter of 1981 but declined by 11 per cent from those recorded in the corresponding quarter of 1980.

Some 41 per cent of income tax receipts came from other taxes including Selective

Employment Tax (SET).

The report explains that Pay As You Earn (PAYE) and company tax accounted for 32 per cent and 26 per cent of income tax respectively. — Business Review Reporter/Zana.

SACIKA SAYS EXISTING PRICING POLICIES OUGHT TO BE REVIEWED

Sacika's Speech

Lusaka SUNDAY TIMES in English 30 May 82 p 1

[Text] ESSENTIAL commodities sold on the black market in Lusaka cost up to 300 per cent of their controlled price, chairman of the Prices and Incomes Commission, Mr Sketchley Sacika said in Lusaka yesterday.

He said the purpose of price control was to protect the low-income groups but there was strong evidence those groups were highly vulnerable.

"If we are to deal with this problem adequately, the existing pricing policies ought to be reviewed to take into account the need to improve the profitability of the companies manufacturing essential goods."

Mr Sacika was speaking on "prices and incomes policy in Zambia" during the annual general meeting of the Consumers Protective Association at the University of Zambia's Ridgeway campus.

Judging from Press reports, one got the impression that the public had lost confidence in the nation's price control system.

But Mr Sacika said he wanted to make a few observations on the matter.

It was his feeling that such a lesson was all too familiar to most people, as cases of overcharging on controlled goods in conventional retail outlets and on the black-market continued to be the order of the day.

This was in spite of the relentless campaign by the authorities to wipe out the vices.

According to a survey conducted by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) last year, essential goods sold on the blackmarket in Lusaka fetched up to 300 per cent of their controlled price.

In rural areas where no conventional retail outlets or blackmarkets existed, people had to do without essential goods even if they had the money.

"The purpose of price control is to protect the low-income groups, and yet the evidence available strongly suggests that these groups are highly vulnerable," he said.

The small surplus of funds impeded investment and even day-to-day operations making impossible for the conglomerate to expand its operations and supply the market adequately.

While it was necessary to maintain some form of control on basic essential commodities, he thought the authorities should decide whether the present form of

control was serving a useful purpose.

This was in view of the persisting supply constraints inhibiting effects on the expansion of industry because of low profitability.

Productivity, Prices, Income 'Vicious Circle'

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 31 May 82 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] THAT prices went up by only five per cent between December and last March compared to 9.9 per cent over the same period in 1981 (as reported in the latest quarterly of consumer price statistics) should not solace the Zambian consumer.

It is possible that the figures are based on calculations taken from Government-announced — or is it Government-controlled? — prices and as such they therefore do not reflect the true picture.

Legally there are price controls on the majority of goods, beverages, clothing and other services in Zambia but the official prices are on paper only.

What the consumer actually pays at the local market, grocery shop or retail outlet is many times over the gazetted price.

So it is rather naive to believe that in real terms inflation dropped to 8.9 per cent for the low income group and 11.1 per cent for the high bracket in March as compared with 14.4 per cent and 10.2 per cent in the same month last year.

Of course the Central Statistical Office admits that falling inflation

does not mean dropping prices or even a low cost of living rate.

But as it is the national body its statistics should show the situation as it prevails.

When he addressed the Consumer Protective Association meeting in Lusaka on Saturday chairman of the Prices and Incomes Commission Mr Sketchley Sacika expressed concern at the 300 per cent mark-ups of goods on the black market.

We agree with Mr Sacika that the present price control system needs review because it is misleading and therefore not serving a purpose.

Why restrict manufacturing companies from making profits when the restricted goods they produce fetch 300 or more per cent when sold on the black market?

In a way the controls are counter-productive in that they discourage companies which are already inhibited by foreign exchange problems from producing non-profit making items.

Another sore point related to prices is that of incomes. Already the Zambia Federation of Employers has voiced anxiety at the demands which trade unions have started to make.

Mr Sacika says for nine years incomes have not kept pace with price

rises and consequently the standard of living of the people, especially the urban workers, has declined.

But we have to consider that employers are not making money because they cannot produce to targeted levels. It is either they increase wages bills and shut down in a short time or maintain wages at a sustainable rate and keep people in employment.

How can a company which used to produce 10,000 shirts a month three years ago but due to forces beyond its control makes 500 today be expected to increase wages by 45 per cent and stay open?

It is a vicious circle we have on our hands of productivity, prices and incomes.

CSO: 4700/1375

MUZ CHAIRMAN WARNS ZCCM NOT TO MISINTERPRET COST SAVING MEASURES

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 29 May 82 p 1

[Text] Mineworkers Union of Zambia (MUZ) chairman Mr Timothy Walamba has warned Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) divisions not to misinterpret the new cost saving measures announced recently to avoid misunderstandings among the miners.

Commenting for the first time since the ZCCM's chairman and chief executive Mr Francis Kaunda announced tough measures aimed at averting a crisis in the mining industry because of the low copper prices and effects of the inflationary pressure, Mr Walamba said yesterday that operating divisions should conduct their briefings in good faith like their head office had done instead of confusing issues.

MUZ was happy with Mr Kaunda's briefing and agreed with him on most of the steps taken to save the industry from collapse.

"Our only concern is that the interpretation of the measures at the lower level of management might not be the same with that at the top level".

He blamed the confusion which followed the publication of the pension scheme for miners two months ago on mine officials who conducted the briefings as they had misinterpreted details of the scheme.

Mr Walamba welcomed the move to reduce expatriate labour by 500 because it would give opportunity to Zambians to rise.

CSO: 4700/1375

'SERIOUS SHORTAGE OF FOOD' LOOMING IN MAGUMWI WARD, SESHEKE DISTRICT

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 29 May 82 p 2

[Excerpt] A SERIOUS shortage of food is looming in Magumwi ward of Sesheke district where rivers have already dried up, ward chairman Mr Edward Mutengaziko warned in Livingstone.

He asked the Government to extend the family relief by providing food after this year's draught which destroyed crops.

Despite efforts by farmers in his ward to grow food, most of them harvested nothing.

"Should the Government fail to give aid to this ward there is a likelihood of loss of lives."

The Government should provide water because the only source, Machile stream, was rapidly drying up because of insufficient rains this year.

Electricity

"There is even fear that Magumwi School may close down as a result of having no water. I therefore request the Government to give directives to our local water affairs department to dig up open wells in places which I reported to our district council."

CSO: 4700/1375

INVESTMENT IN AGRICULTURE 'NEEDED TO IMPROVE ECONOMY'

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 31 May 82 p 1

[Text] **FOR** Zambia to improve her tottering economy there is need to increase investment in agriculture.

Chairman of the Economy and Finance Sub-Committee of the Central Committee Mr Elijah Mudenda said it was also vital to improve the efficiency of administrators and restructure the manufacturing industry.

He said these measures must be undertaken in the shortest time possible.

Speaking when he closed a joint ward and Party committees at places of work seminar at Mulungushi hall at the weekend, Mr Mudenda said apart from the world-wide economic trend, the present state of Zambia's economy was in part caused by its economic history.

At Independence Zambia did not inherit much of the economic infrastructure and the economy was heavily dependent on copper.

Zambia must institute its own measures of rehabilitating its economy in the face of a bleak international economy.

The ever-increasing bill for raw materials continued to be a foreign exchange drain.

"In the Zambian economy, therefore, the major task is to manage, generate and

conserve foreign exchange. We have succeeded in diversifying the sources of revenue, but we have not yet succeeded in diversifying the sources of foreign exchange.

"Unless we solve this problem national development will be frustrated."

He said Zambia should now launch a programme to develop the organisational talents of its administrators so they could become more efficient.

Programmes of work must be instituted systematically and projects implemented efficiently.

He appealed to all Zambians to help get the agricultural industry off the ground. This effort should include more involvement in agricultural production by urban Zambians.

Urban and peri-urban communities could provide an opportunity for the youth to be gainfully occupied through farming.

The past season had shown how vulnerable the country was because it relied on crops grown during the rain season.

To avoid spending much foreign exchange on food imports targets for investment in agriculture should be higher than the nation's needs.

If Zambia consumed eight million bags of maize a year it should try to invest in such a manner as to produce 16 million bags, he said.

Passed

On the reorganisation of the manufacturing industry, Mr Mudenda said by importing raw materials the country's industries imported inflation whose costs were eventually passed on to the consumer.

Industries which depended on imported raw materials did not operate at full capacity when Zambia was short of foreign exchange. This resulted in shortages and redundancies from time to time.

He said the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines had set a good example which ought to be emulated by a number of industries because it had rationalised both in terms of its structure and operations.

He praised the new spirit of entrepreneurship evident in townships where people made lamp shades, display cabinets and baskets from local materials.

This informal sector must be given every support since it was making do without any support from financial institutions.

ZAMBIA RAILWAYS TO START MANUFACTURING OWN WAGONS SOON

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 Jun 82 p 2

[Excerpt]

ZAMBIA Railways will soon start manufacturing its own wagons to alleviate the shortage of rolling stock on the system.

This was announced yesterday to Member of the Central Committee Mrs Chibesa Kankasa when she toured new Zambia Railways workshops with 14 district political chairmen from the Women's League attending a political education course at the President's Citizenship College in Kabwe.

The company's chief mechanical engineer Mr Moffat Shankaya informed Mrs Kankasa the project was already well underway.

Mr Shankaya complained that the company was facing an acute shortage of foreign

exchange for spare parts to maintain a fleet of locomotive engines which had broken down.

Speaking at a luncheon at the railway training centre, Mrs Kankasa told the railways assistant general manager for administration Mr Cyrus Ndyamba and manager for industrial participation and public relations Mr Alex Lubinda that her delegation was impressed with the work of Zambia Railways.

CSO: 4700/1375

INSTITUTE CONCERNED ABOUT 'CHRONIC' SHORTAGE OF BRICKS

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 28 May 82 p 2

[Text] THE Zambia Institute of Architecture is concerned about the "chronic" shortage of bricks and why the problem has not been solved.

The association has invited people facing the bricks shortage to approach it for help.

The latest publication "IN SITU" says some projects were being affected by the shortage.

Local bricks were attractive and economically well-priced and that they required no foreign exchange but the institute could not understand why bricks should be in short supply.

"Why at this time of the year do we find our projects affected by the chronic shortages and why hasn't something been done to alleviate the problem?" it asks.

The institute has called on authorities with the relevant information on the abortive Nega Nega and Kapiri Mposhi bricks factories to give reasons why they were shut down.

"Unless the nature of the failure is understood, the community stands in danger of repeating the same mistake and thereby squander our limited resources."

It is necessary to have a centralised body to represent the needs of the building industry because this would enable potential developers to benefit from the opinion of others concerning construction matters.

CSO: 4700/1375

SOME PARASTATAL COMPANIES FAIL TO SUBMIT CORPORATE PLANS TO ZIMCO

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 2 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] SOME parastatal companies have failed to submit their corporate plans to Zimco despite the last November deadline.

Corporate plan consultant at Indeco Mr Paavo Tahtinen told participants at the opening of a seminar for Zimco personnel in Lusaka yesterday that some corporate plans were still missing.

He said corporate plans aimed at controlling and directing economic activities were still being commonly regarded as a "waste of time within prevailing circumstances".

Corporate planning was an efficient instrument for identifying problems, anticipating changes and preparing companies to accept the changes to enable them to perform well with little resources available.

Mr Tahtinen noted that Zambia's annual growth at 3.3 per cent meant an annual population increase of 180,000. This, coupled with high oil bills, unemployment figures, indicated a drastic need for parastatals to adopt corporate planning.

Anticipated foreign exchange earnings for the Indeco group in the next five years was K14 million, but about K220 million was needed annually to keep operations running.

Mr Tahtinen told participants drawn from a number of Zimco companies that they should learn the structure of the instrument which helped them to adopt efficient and professional management skills.

He said the final outcome of the process, a budget type set of figures, merely indicated the anticipated outcome of actions planned for.

CSO: 4700/1375

MANAGING DIRECTOR SAYS ZAMOX MADE PROFIT THIS YEAR

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 28 May 82 p 2

[Text] ZAMOX made a profit of K3.7 million this year, managing director Mr Robert Lees said in Lusaka.

He said the Indeco subsidiary was poised for a major expansion programme which would include the opening of a huge nitro-oxide plant in December.

Mr Lees was speaking during the Zamox reception held at a Lusaka hotel on Wednesday night which was attended by Party and Government officials, heads of parastatal and private organisations.

Like any other industrial concerns his company had been affected by the world recession, high oil prices and foreign exchange problems.

But the company was operating efficiently and he commended the 500 workers throughout the country for their loyalty and dedication to duty.

"We made a profit of K3.7 million this year. I should thank Indeco who are the majority shareholders for their continued assistance."

Zamox was a large company producing almost all industrial gases required by the mines and other construction industries for welding.

The company supplied medical oxygen and it manufactured nitro-oxide for use in hospitals. Therefore, it was an important organisation as far as the economy of the country was concerned, he said.

On reports that some hospitals and other industries were experiencing a shortage of oxygen, Mr Lees said the complaints were not justified because there had not been a shortage of oxygen of late.

He conceded that in the past there had been a shortage of nitro-oxide in hospitals because Zamox was importing the stuff.

"But now we are opening in December our own nitro-oxide plant using locally produced ammonia nitrate from Nitrogen Chemicals in Kafue."

Nitro-oxide produced locally would not only meet the country's requirements but also for export to Zaire, Malawi and Tanzania.

On foreign exchange, he said his company was fortunate in that making oxygen meant using natural air.

Zamox manufactured other commodities such as dissolved acetylene which required raw materials and because of this the company had been hit by shortage of foreign exchange.

"We try to use local products whenever possible."

Explaining Zamox operations, Mr Lees said his company made two types of oxygen — liquid oxygen used in mines and gaseous oxygen used in cylinders.

Liquid oxygen was supposed to be stored in special containers and the company had recently imported a large number of them which were geared to increase the capacity of oxygen storage in customers' plants.

'NO DUAL CITIZENS BY 1983'--SAYS ZVOBGO

Bill Expected To Pass

Harare THE HERALD in English 25 May 82 p 1

[Text] NO ONE will be allowed to hold dual citizenship in Zimbabwe by the end of this year, the Minister of Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Dr Eddison Zvobgo, said yesterday.

He said a Bill to stop people holding the citizenship of Zimbabwe and another country at the same time had been prepared and printed and was now waiting for presentation to the House of Assembly when it resumes on June 16.

In an interview, the minister said the Bill would go through Parliament easily because it did not need 100 percent support. "We already have majority support for the amendment of the Constitution," he said.

Dr Zvobgo said the move was in the interest of the nation and did not expect any uproar from any community. He noted that many countries in the world had abolished dual citizenship.

"I do not see why any person should take serious exception in Zimbabwe. There is nothing sinister and all that we want is loyalty to the State," the minister explained.

On whether he had sought the opinion of the Republican Front and those who represented the white community, he said he did not see any point in doing that because he

did not regard the RF as a true representative of the white community.

Dual citizenship was one of several other aspects of the Constitution which were not acceptable to the present Zimbabwe. It had been accepted at Lancaster House in order not to prolong the war.

Dr Zvobgo said the coming sessions of the House of Assembly and the Senate would be very busy because there were 30 Bills to be discussed. Most of the Bills had been printed and were ready for the resumption of Parliament on June 16.

The Bills would have total impact on changing the Constitution in line with the Government desire to transform the country. "We shall ensure that there is more than enough work for both Houses," the minister said.

End Split Loyalties

Harare THE HERALD in English 24 May 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Dual-Citizenship"]

[Text] ZIMBABWE would be a prouder, stronger nation were it not for the split loyalties of some of its citizens.

Some of these people have deserted the country when the going appeared tough — and at a time when their services were most needed here — to live in countries of which they are also citizens. And nothing will stop them returning "home" to Zimbabwe with proffered hands of reconciliation once they glimpse a rosier future here.

But who will regard such people as true allies in nation-building? Indeed who in their right minds will entrust the future and security of the country to such mercenary citizens?

One could cite other examples to support the argument against dual-citizenship in a country such as Zimbabwe which seeks to establish a non-racial society.

For this reason a Government Bill gazetted last Friday which proposes to repeal a section of the Constitution that permits dual-citizenship, is most welcome. The Bill also proposes to change another section of the citizenship chapter of the Constitution and so empower Parliament to make laws on citizenship.

For some these changes may be heart-rending, but they should be pursued to their logical end so that Zimbabweans are left in no doubt as to who belongs in this country both in word and flesh. Law-abiding non-Zimbabweans need not fear anything.

It should be admitted that at the time of independence the provision of dual-citizenship as a constitutional safeguard for the minority may have been necessary considering the apprehension caused by the war. But that necessity has surely fallen away with the declared Government policy of reconciliation which, in effect, means there is room for all who desire to be part of one Zimbabwean nation, regardless of their colour or creed?

With the security of the country threatened by the enemy next door, there is no doubt that the suspicion engendered by people holding dual-citizenships does very little to improve our race relations.

CSO: 4700/1370

DROPPING OF LOBOLA REQUIREMENT CAUSES CONTROVERSY

Zvobgo Pronouncement

Harare THE HERALD in English 26 May 82 p 1

[Text] THE Age Majority Bill, to be presented to Parliament when it resumes on June 16, will not outlaw lobola, the Minister of Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Dr Eddison Zvobgo, said.

However, when the Bill becomes law, lobola will no longer be a legal requirement to validate a marriage.

The Bill will set 18 as the age of majority for all Zimbabweans.

In an interview on Monday, Dr Zvobgo, who is also chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Legislation, said families would continue to charge and pay lobola if they wished to do so. "It will be a personal issue and not a legal one," the minister said.

CONSEQUENCES

He explained that reference to lobola was only one of the consequences of the Bill. Its main purpose would be to correct the minority legal status of African women.

Dr Zvobgo noted that in the past, a woman could not enter into a legal contract without the assistance of a male relative and she could not sue without the authority of her guardian. The system was unjust and unacceptable to a government with a social conscience.

He said that as a socialist country, Zimbabwe could not have one law for men and another for African women.

"At present all African women are legal minors from birth to death. Before marriage she is under the guardianship of her father or other male relatives. After marriage she passes into the guardianship of her husband and in the event of divorce, she reverts back to her father's legal guardianship."

"There are many other serious consequences of this perpetual guardianship", said Dr Zvobgo.

Hornets' Nest Stirred

Harare THE HERALD in English 28 May 82 p 16

[Editorial: "Lobola and Culture"]

[Text] DR EDDISON ZVOBGO may have stirred a hornets' nest when he suggested that when the Majority Age Bill becomes law, lobola will no longer be a legal requirement to validate a marriage.

This will not go down well with traditionalists who are likely to interpret the whole exercise as an attempt to do away with African culture altogether and as Government interference in a family's private life.

Before it was commercialised by some greedy parents, lobola was a form of a dowry in reverse, a small token of appreciation by a husband to his in-laws. Today, for whatever reason — some attribute it to the high cost of living and inflation — some young men are being made to pay as much as \$3 000 for their brides.

Of course, legal changes now envisaged in the Majority Age Bill alone cannot force a change of attitudes. The new law will not force people to like each other but will lay down rules for justice between them. It will help women to stand on their own feet but cannot force them to do so any more than they can be forced to work or vote.

The proposed new law will simply enable women to be treated as adults.

All over the country — in the cities, the towns and the villages — the women have shown they are a force to be reckoned with, a power that no political party dare ignore. They played a decisive role during the liberation struggle and since Mexico, almost seven years ago, they have made great strides.

There is no doubt that women (who are more numerous than men) have been and, in some cases, still are the victims of sex discrimination. But equally, there is no doubt that some of these female activists are carrying things too far with their pin-pricking demands.

It is true that the vast majority of them, particularly those who were educated in the West, have been vociferous against lobola and even advocate the defeat of men. We also note that among them are those whose marriages have floundered, or who failed to get married.

We are glad that the Government is not doing away with lobola and has carefully skirted around the problem by saying it will be a personal issue and not a legal one. But, admittedly, it is a subject likely to generate more copy for us as people debate the advantages and disadvantages of lobola.

Further Details

Harare THE HERALD in English 27 May 82 p 7

[Text] A 26-year-old man was faced with a \$2 000 lobola bill after he sought the consent of his girlfriend's father to marry her.

Mr Mukwasha Makwenyana, who works in the city, earns less than \$400 a month. After paying rent, account and tax each month he is usually left with less than \$70 for food and other general upkeep expenses. His financial situation sometimes takes a plunge when relatives show up unexpectedly from his home in Gutu.

But as a result of sacrifices in his budgeting Mr Makwenyana has so far managed to pay \$600, "but there is still \$1 400 to be paid. I think the Government should step in and take some decisive action to protect us. This is blatant exploitation," Mr Makwenyana remarked the other day.

In another case a young doctor who recently graduated from the University of Zimbabwe was charged over \$2 000 for lobola.

Being the eldest in his family the young doctor has an added responsibility of taking care of his brothers and sisters and his parents who live on subsistence peasant farming.

"It was a severe punishment for him. The father-in-law showed no understanding at all. He was only interested in extracting a lot of money from the son-in-law. This is intolerable in independent Zimbabwe," said a sympathetic friend who was the bridesmaid at the wedding.

The two examples are a few of hundreds of cases where marrying a girl is now costing "an arm and a leg" for the boy. It is generally agreed that for everyone or two men who protest against lobola there are hundreds who accept their fate like sheep being led to slaughter.

The subject of lobola burst into the public spotlight after Zimbabwe gained her independence. Two women ministers attacked the practice but stopped short of advocating its outright abolition. The Minister of Community Development and Women's Affairs, Mrs Teurai Ropa Nhongo, and the Deputy Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Dr Naomi Nhwitiwa, saw lobola in its present form as a handicap for the development of women.

"While lobola is exploitation of man (mukwasha) by man (tezvara) it is the woman who suffers," the Director of Legal Affairs in the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs, Mrs Elizabeth Gwaunza, said, indicating the subordinate role of the woman as a wife.

A number of research studies indicated men generally opposed lobola while women supported it.

One study by the Riddell Commission saw the traditional custom of lobola being abused. "Instead of establishing a valued link between two families, lobola has been commercialised to an extreme degree, its size being dependent upon the earning capacity of the woman, usually in direct relation to her educational qualifications," noted the report.

A recent study on the position of the women in Zimbabwe which was sponsored by the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs noted that nearly all the women interviewed supported the continuation of lobola. A small group advocated its outright abolition.

But the women who supported lobola were equally divided on whether the practice should be modified or not.

"Those supporting lobola saw the practice as a necessary token of gratitude from the mukwasha to the tezvara and a means of maintaining a social balance by stabilising marriage," said Mrs Gwaunza.

Unlike the hardline hawks, the doves among the pro-lobola ranks believed lobola as practised today had lost its traditional symbolic value and should be reformed. The hawks, on the other hand, supported their stand on the basis of the "rising costs of bringing up children".

The report made some recommendations calling for both short-term and long-term measures to deal with the problems of lobola.

"Considering the centrality of lobola to the socio-cultural value system of Zimbabwe, one measure would be not to make complete payment of lobola a precondition for the solemnisation of the marriage.

"There is also need to fix, by legislation, a ceiling on the maximum amount that can be paid as lobola and which could form the basis for the solemnisation of the marriage.

"Lobola should be viewed as essentially a private contract between the father-in-law and the mukwasha or umkwenyana," said Mrs Gwaunza.

On the long-term measures Mrs Gwaunza felt these would have to depend on whether society as a whole was ready for such changes.

But the report is deficient in that it carries no vigorous programme of action to educate the society against the abuse of lobola.

One observer noted that the thrust of the report was not so much to ease the suffering of the mukwasha in paying such huge bills, as to protect the interests of the woman.

"What the women want is to achieve equal status with men on the basis of the Declaration of Rights contained in the Zimbabwe Constitution, whether lobola is paid or not paid. This explains why some hawkish women advocates of commercialised lobola are also equally strong advocates of the women's liberation," the observer said.

The Ministry of Legal and Parliamentary Affairs and the Ministry of Justice have both been reviewing the African Marriages Act of 1951.

Under the Act a provincial commissioner had powers to "fix terms of marriage, if, after due inquiry, he is satisfied that such consent (from tezvara) is unreasonable or improperly withheld or refused".

The Minister of Justice, Mr Simbi Mubako, said this Act was never used and remained ineffective.

"The whole law of marriage will be reviewed. But next month the Minister of Home Affairs will introduce a Bill in Parliament that will make payment of lobola optional. All other aspects will continue to be reviewed," Mr Mubako said.

According to the Minister of Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Dr Eddison Zvobgo, the Age of Majority Bill, due to be introduced in Parliament, will no longer make lobola a legal requirement to validate a marriage although families may continue to charge and pay lobola.

Observers see this as the Government's short-term efforts to at least weaken lobola. But it is noted that the father-in-law, instead of demanding cash payment as a precondition for the validation of marriage, will continue to demand after the marriage the balance of the inflated figure he would have charged.

"It all adds up to the same thing. It is like being asked to choose between death by an **electric chair** or death by starvation," commented a young man who has vowed not to marry until lobola is completely abolished.

CSO: 4700/1370

EFFECTS OF NEW PRICE CONTROL REGULATIONS FEARED BY BUSINESS

Harare THE HERALD in English 24 May 82 p 1

[Text] **THE Associated Chambers of Commerce of Zimbabwe has said some rural businessmen could go out of business as a result of the Government's new price control regulations.**

In an interview at the weekend, the economist of the organisation, Miss Charity Mashongamhende, said that although the price control regulations were good, some people would certainly lose business in the rural areas because of several factors.

"Although it is too early to exactly say how badly the rural businessmen will be affected, it is clear that some will certainly lose business," she said.

EFFECTS

Miss Mashongamhende said the rural businessmen will mainly be affected by transport costs when they come into town to buy their goods.

She said a good number of them hire trucks to carry goods to their stores, groceries, etc. "These are some of the problems the rural businessmen face, although they are having a cautious approach to the new regulations."

She urged the rural businessmen to always keep the costs of the transportation of their

goods before approaching the Government for exceptional cases to be considered.

"I think that genuine and exceptional cases should be considered to avert the possibility of some shops closing down."

Asked whether the commercial and rural businessmen backed the price control regulations, Miss Mashongamhende replied:

"It is too early to say at the moment. They are having a cautious look at the whole situation. They are still studying the regulations in detail."

The new regulations came into force on May 1, and replaced the price freeze which was first introduced on December 17 last year.

The reason for the price freeze was to give the Government time to overhaul the whole price control system and make the necessary changes that would bring the price control into line with other related policies of the Government.

"Price control by the Government is necessary to avoid the exploitation of people, particularly in the rural areas where some businessmen were making exorbitant charges for their goods including basic essential ones," she said.

A NEED

She agreed that there was need for a structured system of reviewing applications for prices by businessmen for products under specific price control orders.

She also said there were certain areas in the regulations which were open to misinterpretation and the Ministry of Trade and Commerce "hopes to clarify certain points".

Miss Mashongamhende added: "The ministry has accepted that in some types of business, it would be impractical to follow the regulations to the letter. In such cases, the ministry will take a reasonable view."

CSO: 4700/1370

STOP MOANING ABOUT CODE, INVESTORS TOLD

Harare THE HERALD in English 27 May 82 p 1

[Article by Tim Chigodo]

[Text] FOREIGN and local investors should heed the assurances given by the Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe, and stop moaning about an investment code, the director of the Zimbabwe Promotion Council, Mr Jones Gondo, said yesterday.

"The Government has made it very clear that during the three-year development plan, 55 percent of the country's investment will come from the public sector while 45 percent will be from the private," Mr Gondo said in an interview.

He said the assurances given by Mr Mugabe and members of his cabinet should act as a guide to investment. There was no need for an outcry from both foreign and local investors.

Mr Gondo, whose organisation is involved in the promotion of Zimbabwe's economic potential locally and abroad, said there were international organisations operating in the country which came without any investment code.

"Why is there an outcry for a code when the Government has already given the guidelines," he said. Investors who were

still not clear with the investment policy were free to go to Government offices or his office for more information.

The opening of embassies abroad by the Government had boosted efforts by ZPC to make the outside world aware of the potential for investment in Zimbabwe. The ZPC had been sending literature on the country's economy and organising briefing sessions for both local and foreign financiers.

Business tours had been organised for leading industrialists and foreign diplomats to familiarise them with the country's economic high points.

There was now a greater awareness among investors on the economic potential that existed in the country. The ZPC, in conjunction with concerted Government efforts to put Zimbabwe on the world map, had held exercises to counteract adverse publicity in the foreign Press.

Mr Gondo said businessmen who had visited the country had gone back encouraged and optimistic about the investment opportunities available. "They have had a pleasant surprise about the great economic potential in Zimbabwe," he said.

The ZPC arranged programmes for foreign

businessmen to meet relevant officials in Government ministries and the private sector. The organisation worked out initially what the investors wanted before they arrived so that their itinerary was suited to their particular needs.

CSO: 4700/1370

STOCK EXCHANGE SEEKS TO BROADEN BASE

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 21 May 82 p 1

[Text] THE four remaining brokerage firms forming the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange are making a "preliminary" investigation at present into a method of broadening the base of the exchange in view of its declining membership, said the chairman, Mr Bill Burdett-Coutts this week.

Commenting on what he described as "inaccurate" rumours that some of the few remaining members may go out of business soon, Mr Burdett-Coutts said that no one he knew of was quitting the exchange at the moment. At present there are 11 brokers among the four firms.

"All I can say basically is that there is no crisis facing the exchange," he told *The Gazette*.

But according to a detailed report which appeared in the *Financial Mail*, Johannesburg, last week, a crisis meeting to discuss the future of the dwindling Zimbabwe stock market was held earlier this month.

The report said the result was a decision to investigate inviting participation by the "so-called Non-Member Institutions." The NMIs, which include merchant banks, were to discuss the issue with the Harare Stock Exchange committee this week, after briefing the Treasury on the situation.

The report referred to the slump in stock market turnover in Zimbabwe in the last year, during which time the brokers had managed to maintain viability by dealing in South African stocks with Johannesburg.

Referring to record low index figures for the mining and industrial share markets in the past 12 months, the *Financial Mail* said that individual investors had dropped out of the market and that institutions, pushed by the Government into increased holdings of Government-prescribed, stocks, had not been active either.

The collapse of the gold price, the slowdown in the South African economy and the weak Rand had all served to discourage Zimbabwean investors from dealing in the Johannesburg market, the report continued.

REDUCED MARKET

"At the meeting last weekend, at least three of the four remaining brokerage houses said they either wanted to shut up shop or maintain a much reduced market presence."

The *Financial Mail* said that bearing in mind the very substantial holdings of equities by institutional and individual investors, the possibility of bringing in the NMIs seemed designed to enable the brokers to pass on most of the responsibility for making a market to the merchant banks and investment houses. These were better placed to absorb overheads.

"It is also a sensible move because nobody wants to see a market with only one or one-and-a-half broking firms," said the publication.

"The fact is that a stock market is a vital ingredient of any effective capital market structure. Zimbabwe, which will have to draw heavily on domestic financial resources to fund its Z\$4,6 billion three-year development plan, simply cannot afford to allow the market to go to the wall."

The report ended by saying that the Zimbabwe exchange had been through some very thin times in the past, including UDI in 1965.

"But whether it can survive the combined adversity of a socialist Government, a totally depressed minerals sector, an exodus of investors and falling corporate profits squeezed by escalating costs and Government-imposed price controls, remains to be seen."

BEIRA PIPELINE UNLIKELY TO OPEN THIS YEAR

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 21 May 82 p 1

[Text] **PROBLEMS** of finance and security which have dogged the long-delayed opening of the Lonrho-owned oil pipeline from Beira to Mutare are still unresolved. There is little hope at present that refined oil products will be able to flow into Zimbabwe through that route this year.

Overseas sources now report that Lonrho is facing great difficulties in arranging insurance cover for the vital pipeline over the Mozambique stage of its route to Mutare. It is believed that the pipeline again suffered an attack by dissidents in Mozambique last month, but there has been no information on whether it was badly damaged.

Other negotiations which have delayed the flow of refined oil products through the pipeline into Zimbabwe, long after the previously announced target date earlier this year, concern the tariff to be paid by the Zimbabwe Government to the Mocambique Railways and Government.

According to Swiss reports published by *The Gazette* recently, the Mozambique Government was seeking a tariff of about \$95 per tonne of oil carried through the pipeline over its territory. This would include compensation for the loss of revenue to the Mocambique Railways (CFM) which would follow the loss of oil freight and also a tariff of about \$10 payable to the Mozambique Government for allowing the piped oil to pass through its territory.

It is believed these negotiations were concluded with the Mozambique Government recently.

However, in addition to these costs the Lonrho organisation, which originally built and has repaired the pipeline at a cost of many millions, is also seeking payment from the Zimbabwe Government for carrying the oil products through its installations.

Lonrho is now reported to have dropped its original asking price of about \$25 per tonne piped, down to about \$20 per tonne, to be adjusted at a lower price on a sliding scale over a period after ten years.

However, the Zimbabwe Government has not agreed to this price and it is understood that a tariff of only about \$10, similar to that agreed with the Mozambique Government, has been offered to Lonrho.

Negotiations about the price appear to be still under way.

If the Lonrho price of about \$20 per tonne were to be added to the \$95 believed to have been agreed with the Mocambique Government, the oil would cost at least \$115 to be pumped through to Mutare. It would then have to be railed from Mutare to Harare at an estimated cost of another \$30 or so per tonne, making a total of about \$145 per tonne.

HIGHER THAN DURBAN

This would appear to be much higher than the cost of about \$100 per tonne to rail refined diesel products from Durban, South Africa, or the average cost of railing oil products from Maputo

of about \$90 per tonne.

So at present it would seem that either of these rail routes would present a more financially

attractive and safer alternative, in view of the security situation threatening the Beira oil pipeline route.

However, the Zimbabwe Government obviously wishes to have various oil routes at its disposal in order to avoid being too heavily dependent on any one route.

A financial spokesman said in Harare last week: "If the transport cost of bringing refined oil products, whether bought from Algeria or on the spot market, were to go above the \$140 per tonne mark from Beira to Harare, then it would obviously not be an attractive or viable proposition, especially in view of the security situation presented by the Beira route."

However, the present shortage and high cost of bringing oil products into Zimbabwe by rail is presenting considerable problems to the Government. It is estimated now to be costing almost \$200 million a year and according to recent reports of the Income Tax revenue this amount is about \$12 million more than the entire tax revenue collected from all companies in Zimbabwe last year of \$189.5 million.

DECLINING PROFITS ENDANGER MINING INDUSTRY

Harare THE HERALD in English 22 May 82 p 1

[Text] ZIMBABWE'S mining industry is in a serious position, with declining profits and most companies expecting a loss this year, the president of the Chamber of Mines, Mr Roy Lander, said yesterday.

Speaking at the chamber's annual meeting he said the Government had to recognise the threat from low world prices and higher interest rates and wages.

Mining houses were not exploitative. "But our fundamental viability is at stake and I hope the Government fully understands the seriousness of the situation.

"What concerns me greatly is whether we can remain cost-competitive internationally. Regrettably, I simply do not expect our most hopeful price increase forecasts to be sufficient to match cost rises in the short to medium term."

The major mining houses had seen their profits, after interest payments and tax, decline from \$86 million in 1980 to \$40 million last year, he said.

"Right at this moment the position of the industry is very serious in-

deed, and I do not think it is sufficient to hope that metal prices will recover in the third quarter of this year, or even in early 1983."

He said he did not want to project what would happen this year. "But without exception, the major mining companies expect the situation to be significantly worse; most of them expect to make losses."

The Government had already come to the rescue of copper producer MTD (Mangula) and was now holding talks with Rio Tinto Mining (Zimbabwe).

Mr Lander said that last year the larger mining companies received a

return on capital investment of only 4 percent. Long-term Government stock offered a return of 13 percent. In 1980 mining sector investors received 10.4 percent.

The wage and salary bill for this year could be about \$100 million more over a year than before independence, an increase which could not be sustained.

Legislation preventing the dismissal of employees for indiscipline had also created headaches.

As for future State participation in the industry, he said that it was in the

best interests of all concerned to get the best price for their products. Everything would be done to make the Mineral Marketing Authority work as efficiently as possible.

CSO: 4700/1370

BRIEFS

REPATRIATED MINERS--Local mining companies with connections in South Africa have been asked by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services to reemploy some of the 5 000 Zimbabwean miners being repatriated by South Africa. A Ministry of Mines spokesman said: "It is likely that quite a number of the repatriated miners have acquired skills in South Africa that would be useful for Zimbabwe's mining industry, although the industry is in the grip of the worst recession for 20 years." With a 5,2 percent slump in mineral production last year, 23 mines have closed down from the beginning of the year with another 15 impending closures. A spokesman for the Ministry of Mines said: "In the long term, prospects for Zimbabwe's mining industry are very good. We have a large variety of minerals, so we are not dependent upon one only." [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 22 May 82 p 1]

STATE MINERAL SALES--The takeover of mineral marketing operations by the State would be gradual, the Minister of Mines, Mr Maurice Nyagumbo, said yesterday. He was speaking in Harare when he opened the 43rd Annual General Meeting of the Chamber of Mines. The Mineral Mining Corporation would either buy minerals from the producers, negotiate contracts on their behalf or authorise producers to conduct their own sales. "Mineral production is vital to our country, so all that Government is doing is to assume the authority to have some control over the disposal of minerals which until this time has been entirely in the hands of private enterprise." The corporation would conduct dealings on behalf of the producers, who would receive the entire proceeds, except for a nominal commission to cover expenses. It would not be responsible for the marketing and production of gold since this was adequately covered by the Reserve Bank. The Government was also moving swiftly towards the formation of the Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation, which would be the vehicle for promoting Government investment in the mining industry. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 22 May 82 p 3]

ZRP SWITCH TO DATSUNS--The Zimbabwe Republic Police is to gradually phase out the Peugeot 404 as patrol cars and replace them with the Datsun Bluebirds. A police spokesman also estimated that, within the next two years, a large percentage of the force's four-wheel-drive vehicles would be Datsuns or Nissans. The ZRP introduced the Bluebird as a patrol in June last year, and to date, it represents about 40% of the force's patrol-car fleet. "The Bluebirds were chosen because they can be used as a patrol car and as an executive car. We are also evaluating the Datsun Laurel as a possible successor to Peugeot 504s for deputy commissioners, and as a highway patrol vehicle," the spokesman said. The ZRP is also going to replace the Landrovers and the Kudus with the Datsun Patrol four-wheel drive vehicle. With

101 already in use, the spokesman estimated that in three years time, every police station in the country will have the Datsun Patrol or the Datsun Tracker. He also disclosed that the force had ordered replacement motorbikes. Among others on order was the Yamaha 550P which is not yet on the world market. It is expected to be on Zimbabwe's roads in November. [Text] [Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 21 May 82 p 1]

MERGER OF RAILWAY UNIONS--All five railway unions have agreed to merge, the Minister of Labour and Social Services, Mr Kumbirai Kangai, announced in Bulawayo yesterday. Speaking at a brief Press conference Mr Kangai said the agreement to unite followed a morning meeting attended by trade union representatives and the Minister of Transport, Mr Farai Masango. The union also agreed to set up a committee comprising one representative from each of the five merging unions with an alternative member from each union. The committee would work out the modalities of establishing one union, Mr Kangai said. The committee will be chaired by an independent member appointed by Mr Kangai and it was expected to complete its task within "three to six months". The merging unions are, the Railways Associated Workers' Union, the National Union of Railwaymen, Railways Association of Locomotive Engineers, Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Railway Association of Enginemen. Mr Kangai praised the merger agreement saying it was in line with Government policy of one industry one union. "If they have on union it is to their mutual advantage. The Government will find it easy to communicate with their representative and this will save a lot of time in negotiations with the management," Mr Kangai said. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 22 May 82 p 1]

CSO: 4700/1370

END